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ABSTRACT

The gradual adjustment of the American University to the American environment has created a heightened awareness of the university as a public institution, a community of citizens rather than a community of scholars. This is the case study of the University of Wisconsin and its nationally prominent extension division, established in 1907. The division's history is traced from its beginning through the depression, world war, and recent years, and issues and problems are discussed from the public relations point of view of the university. (MSE)

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the Public Relationships of Higher Education

The Outreach University

Clay Schoenfeld

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Office of Inter-College Programs University of Wisconsin-Madison

THE OUTREACH UNIVERSITY

A Case History in the Public Relationships of Higher Education

University of Wisconsin Extension, 1885-1975

By CLAY SCHOENFELD

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The University of Wisconsin-Madison

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RELATED BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

The University and Its Publics, Harper, 1954
Publicity Media and Methods, Macmillan, 1963
Year-Round Education, DERS, 1964
University Extension, CARE, 1965
The American University in Summer, UW Press, 1967

"Campus skills, resources, and facilities grow as they are shared."
--University of Wisconsin-Madison and Open Education,
A Faculty Report, 1975.

PREFACE

Two recent University of Wisconsin-Madison extracurricular assignments caused me to revive the research that has led to this monograph:

First, I was asked to chair a special Faculty Committee "to examine the present outreach or extension functions of the Madison campus and to bring recommendations as to how our responsibilities might be expanded or better carried out if either appears appropriate." Second, I was asked to contribute to a 125-year history of the University a chapter on "The Wisconsin Idea Expanded--1949-1974."

These two assignments took me into the University archives to attempt to discover the wellsprings of the extension movement I was being asked to describe in the present and to develop for the future. What I found was a case history in the public relationships of American higher education--the field of my scholarly endeavors and professional practice.

"The purpose (of university outreach) should be simply that of educational service," said University of Wisconsin President Charles R. Van Hise in 1904, "but utilizing the opportunity to carry out knowledge to the people will be a practical advantage...to the growth of a university along all other lines." Thus did one of the founders of the outreach university concept express its academic and its public relations purposes. Those purposes are both gaining a new appreciation in the world of higher education today.

As a 50-year case study of a distinguished university extension enterprise, this monograph tries to make a contribution to the literature of two fields, higher education and public relations. For the campus administrator it offers insights on the outreach university in the era of its inception; for the PR practitioner it suggests lessons to be learned from a half-century of communications programs. As both a professor of journalism and a university outreach administrator, I try to write from both scholarly perspective and personal experience.

Symbiotic relationships between the American idea and higher learning have come to be a distinguishing characteristic of American democracy. The founders of the nation saw with Jefferson that ignorance was the enemy of freedom, prosperity, and security and they set about to erect, sometimes painfully, yet steadily, an educational system that would support the great experiment. As a capstone to that system there have emerged colleges and universities infused with a sense of open education.

To their instrumentalities of higher education Americans have brought vital intellectual and financial resources: a profound belief in the importance of the individual, an abiding faith in the efficacy of learning, a goal of equality of educational opportunity, a driving curiosity, insistent demands for both liberal and technical knowledge, and unprecedented public and private support. American colleges and universities, in turn, have come to see it as their mission to develop educational skills unrecognized by the traditional academy, educational resources reflecting the aspirations of a vigorous democracy, and educational services related to the needs of patron communities.

These adjustments have created a new university, still scarcely aware of its potential, self-critical of its limitations, inspiring and inspired in the scope of its dreams. The new American university performs three interdependent functions--teaching, research, and outreach. In so doing, the university seeks to be both responsible for traditional ideals and responsive to current public needs. The University of Wisconsin-Madison has distinguished itself in all three functions, and particularly in what has been called "the Wisconsin Idea"--university outreach.

University outreach programs have as their primary purpose to deliver campus educational skills and resources to individuals, groups, organizations, and agencies for use in meeting personal aspirations and in solving societal problems. As a corollary, the outreach function brings back to the campus those essential public insights and impulses that enliven teaching and stimulate research. It also helps to build those public appreciations that keep open the doors to research, free inquiry, and broad educational opportunities; to reinforce the support of the constituency that sustains the institution; and to continue the acceptance of the university as the highest order of a free institution of learning at the service of the commonwealth.

Outreach scholars are in general agreement as to the ingredients of an effective university outreach process: (1) a clear-cut statement of the university's outreach mission, (2) a commitment to it on the part of all echelons and personnel, (3) adequate financing, (4) a direct two-way channel between outreach specialists and university departments, schools, and colleges, (5) a close relationship between research and outreach, (6) coordinated outreach administration, (7) a suitable reward system for outreach duties, (8) an outreach curriculum both responsible for institutional standards and responsive to public needs, (9) effective teaching techniques and materials, and (10) cooperative relationships with community groups, agencies, and schools.[1]

In its broadest sense, university outreach is an institutional state of mind which views the university not as a place but as an instrument. In actual operation, outreach leaders, whatever their affiliation, seek to identify public problems, to stimulate public awareness and concern, to interpret public educational needs to the university, to focus university skills and resources upon them, and thence to translate university insights into a wide range of formal and informal educational service activities throughout a state or region. The outreach mission, in essence, is to bring campus and community into fruitful juxtaposition, thereby immeasurably enriching the life of both.

Today "open university...."new-market students...."continuing education units...."creative public relations....these and similar terms are among the new magic words in the lexicon of American higher education. Some may think they signify new dimensions and new directions. In a sense they do. In a larger sense they are merely modern manifestations of a reformation that electrified colleges and universities at the turn of the century as a part of that "go-getter" syndrome that marked what Daniel Boorstin calls "the democratic experience."[2] This is a case study of the outreach experience of one university as it took the lead in the 50-year period between 1906 and 1956 in laying the groundwork for what today promises to be the ultimate democratization of higher education, and in doing so developed those practices in enlightened public relations that are the alpha and omega of campus solvency in all eras.

American institutions face a future in which they will be hard-put to match their increasing public responsibilities with increasing public support.

This is particularly true in the case of higher education. Only by an astute cultivation of all sources of wherewithall will our universities and colleges be able to finance the educational job that needs doing. How are they to perform this cultivation? Some of the answers lie in the story of how some institutions have built effective public relations through broad public services.

In the emerging literature of both public relations and higher education, there is a notable gap--the extended case study. All public relations books include spot examples of public relations techniques, and some public relations texts include fairly extensive accounts of public relations campaigns. But these examples and accounts are largely episodic in their origins and in their impact. Public relations itself, on the other hand, is not a short story but a continuing novel, having its roots in the history of an institution, its flowering in present service, and its fruitage in future developments. So it is that public relations practitioners have felt the need for case studies which would span a relatively long period in the life of an organization and which would examine in some detail the ebb and flow of the relationships between that organization and its many publics. Administrators in higher education have felt the same need for institutional case studies that were more than mere chronicles.

The Outreach University attempts such an extended case study. It covers directly a 50-year period in the life of University of Wisconsin Extension and indirectly the related antecedent and subsequent story of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. In so doing this monograph tries to inquire fairly minutely into the policies and practices by which that campus and its extension arm sought to fashion effective public relations. While this book is thus sharply focused on the public relations of higher education, its premises may be broad enough and its conclusions so phrased as to be relevant to public relations wherever it is practiced.

A considerable portion of this study is based on the historical files painstakingly assembled through the years by Louis W. Bridgman, late UW-Extension editor, and to him I am thus indebted. For permission to draw freely on their unpublished theses, I am also indebted to Maurice Vance, Kenneth L. Virch, and Donald K. Ross. I particularly acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of the following sources in furnishing information pertinent to this history: Chester Allen, "University Extension in Wisconsin:

Louis E. Reber Administration, 1907-1926," manuscript in author's files; James Creese, The Extension of University Teaching (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941); Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949) 2 vols.; Frederick M. Rosentreter, "The Boundaries of the Campus: A History of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin," Ph.D. thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1954; and T.J. Shannon, who collaborated with me on University Extension, CARE, 1965.

The keen mind and sharp eye of Susan Wineke did the copy-editing.

For current insight and inspiration I drew heavily on the contributions of my colleagues on the Special Faculty Committee on University Outreach Functions: Dennis Dresang, Associate Professor, Political Science; Jack Duffie, Professor, Engineering Experiment Station, and Associate Dean, Graduate School; Herbert Gochberg, Chairman, French and Italian; Charles O. Kroncke, Associate Professor, Business; Harland Samson, Professor and Chairman, Continuing and Vocational Education; Charles Scott, Professor, English; Don W. Smith, Professor, Medical Microbiology; Howard L. Stone, Director, Educational Planning, Health Sciences; David Wieckert, Professor, Dairy Science; Vivian Wood, Professor, Social Work; and Joe Corry, Assistant Vice Chancellor (Consultant).

The history of all great American universities has been one of continual responsiveness to the changing educational needs of a changing American society, yet at the same time of continuous responsibility for irreplaceable academic standards. Today, universities continue to be called upon to respond to new educational needs while maintaining traditional quality control over educational processes.

The educational needs, broadly stated, stem from four principal factors: (1) a substantial population presently unserved by conventional campus configurations, (2) a knowledge explosion that greatly shortens the half-life of any information, (3) increasing educational requirements for entry and/or progress in many pursuits, (4) increased awareness of inequality in educational opportunities for women and minorities, and pressures for change, (5) clear evidence that lifelong learning for many purposes is an emerging American pattern.

In 1915 President Charles R. Van Hise said UW-Madison had become "a new thing in the world." And it was. Today the spirit of "the Wisconsin Idea" continues to call for the evolution of new educational programs and patterns that will merit and win public interest and support. This case study suggests developments that could secure for American citizens more open learning opportunities of university quality, and for their universities more public support.

CLAY SCHOENFELD

Madison, Wisconsin
1 March 1977

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I

PROPOSITIONS

In entering the 20th century, Americans watched the removal of ancient landmarks which had been set by their forefathers. Under the impact of modern science, of modern industry, and of modern government, religion, morals, beliefs, attitudes, and institutions gave way. In their place came shifting sets of conditions, ideas, and ideals. Universities inevitably reflected the change. For a university is not something apart from the social order to which it belongs; it is of that order. This affinity between the character of a society and the character of its higher education is the key to what has happened on the American campus since 1900.

Since 1900 the American educator has been coping with the task of making a new university for a new society. For the 200 years prior to 1900, American higher education had been, in the main, created and sustained, inspired and controlled by religious groups in a climate which was still largely church-centered. Out of this fairly well-established culture the American college had developed a required curriculum and an assured method of teaching, all in a community bounded by campus walls. With the shift to secular control in a state-centered climate, with the breaking to pieces of the older life, the older scheme of knowledge, the older social stratifications, there had to come the breaking of the older concept of university functions and policies.[1]

In the gradual adjustment of the American university to the American environment, there have been six principal steps:

One, the flourishing of the land-grant college--a public proclamation that higher education in the United States was not alone for the well-to-do or for those going into the learned professions, but for the industrial and agricultural classes as well. Two, the adoption of the elective system--opening the way for the proliferation of courses, which in turn attracted unprecedented numbers of young people to college. Three, the growth of graduate and professional schools--an emphasis on scholarly research which could be applied directly to the solution of public problems. Four, the rise of the service university--programs of adult education, public service, and extension carrying the campus to the people, often in the form of "university" or "community" colleges. Five, the development of academic

administration as a discipline itself--deans and directors bringing to the campus new efficiency and effectiveness. And six, the acceptance by these administrators of a public-relations point of view--the university as a community of citizens rather than a community of scholars.

THE NEW UNIVERSITY

These adjustments have created a new university, still scarcely aware of its powers, self-critical of its limitations, inspiring and inspired in the boundlessness of its dreams. The adjustments have been created by, and in turn have themselves created, a heightened campus consciousness of the university as a public institution, drawing from the body politic its spiritual orientations, its practical problems, and its physical wherewithall, and giving back to that body politic a tide of profound thought, a wellspring of skills, and a stream of people carrying new life and enthusiasm to the citizenry of the country. The perspectives and the procedure implicit in the adjustments we call the public relations of higher education--those policies and techniques designed to achieve a clear, candid, and continuous flow of insights and interpretations between the public university and the university publics.

It would be a mistake, of course, to suggest that the new university evolved without a struggle, or that its public relationships today are flawless.

The new university was built in spite of Willa Cather's professor, who resisted bitterly what he called "the new commercialism"--"the aim to 'show results' that was undermining and vulgarizing education"--as legislators and regents alike sought to "make a trade school of the university."[2] In his sneers at men who were "willing to give the taxpayers what they wanted" it never occurred to Gregory St. Peter that what the taxpayers wanted might be exactly what the taxpayers needed. St. Peter's university ideal was an ancient and fragile Cliff City, "hung like a bird's nest" on a high mesa. True, up there in that ocean of clear air, a close neighbor to the sun, you seemed to "get solar energy in some direct way." But Cliff City was occupied, you will remember, only by three Indian mummies that turned to dust at a touch.

The new university, once built, has always been in danger of being captured by its "friends"--men like the trustee in The Male Animal, who, in

return for his donations, demands that the campus concern itself only with "safe and sane" platitudes; and boys like "Jarring Jack" Jackson, '29, who sees higher education reaching its climax between 2 and 4 on an October afternoon in a football stadium.

Between the half-hearted and the halfbacks, the great American educators of the 20th century thread their way, balancing this perspective against that, leading where they can, following where they cannot, always going with their constituents, always watching the favorable moment for helping them another step, linking soil and seminar, relating the twin domes of law and learning, performing a fruitful wedlock between people and university, building American higher education for American society out of something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue.

Old in time, new to the campus, borrowed from Tarsus and Main Street, "blue sky" in its boundaries--this is the open university--the educational philosophy which sees the university not as a place but as an instrument, the public-relations procedure which effects a vibrant interplay between life and learning. Extension epitomizes the open university, with its scope as broad as human endeavor and as high as human aspirations. Extension represents both cause and effect in the adjustment of American education to American society. Extension, its sun the human fellowship which mankind is trying to establish, is the bridge between church and state. Its "service" motto is the motto of the new American education. Its communications techniques are the techniques of the new American civilization. Its personnel are the Babbits, the Dodsworths, the Arrowsmiths, the Kennicots, and the Jessupes of U.S.A.

This is a case study of one university and its extension division--how they have sought to build new pathways of education from campus to field and factory, how they have sought to draw new patterns and purses from people and places, how they have sought, in short, to fashion effective relations between public university and university publics.

DEFINITIONS AND DIRECTIONS

In the literature of university extension in the days of its beginnings you will search in vain for the words "public relations." Today, in the practical lexicon of higher education, extension and public relations are intimately associated. The change in phraseology is not surprising. In 1906, "public relations" as a discipline had not yet consciously been

applied to any aspect of university life. In 1974, even a redcap in Grand Central thinks of his job as "90 per cent public relations."[3]

That the modern university practices public relations, and that university extension today is a prime example of university "PR" at its best at work, only the most traditional academician would deny. Public relations is said to encompass the policies and functions designed to achieve the interpretation of public needs and desires to an institution, and the transmission of institutional ideas and aspirations to the public, in an effort to bring the two into fruitful and harmonious adjustment. This happens also to be a pretty fair description of university extension. University public relations, of course, is broader than university extension; and university extension is deeper than university public relations. But to relate them closely clarifies each concept.

Emerson Reck, in his standard treatise on Public Relations for Higher Education, says good university public relations come about when a university "think(s) first of the other fellow--the thousands of other fellows who make up its many publics." "If a university," he goes on, "can do something to make their problems easier, their lives richer, their comforts greater, it will strengthen their friendship, deepen their appreciation, increase their enthusiasm, and enlarge their support."[4] This is about as apt a description of university public relations as you are going to get.

The purpose of university extension, said the director of a leading division, is "to discover new educational needs, to interpret those needs to the university, and to translate those needs into action programs.... Extension seeks to make the university an integral and dynamic part of the life of the state..., to make the specialized resources and skills of the university available to the people in their everyday living."[5] Most extension workers would "buy" this definition.

If these two statements sound a good deal alike, it is simply a reflection of the fact that the relationship of university public relations and university extension today is the relationship of the vine and the branches.

What of extension yesterday? Did it have the same orientation? Was it in fact public relations despite the absence of the term? It was.

John Bascom was one of the first university educators to see a vision of the wider university, and he reported his revelation in these words: "The university....will be permanently great in the degree in which it

understands the conditions of the prosperity and peace of the people, and helps to provide them."[6] Today's PR expert could ghost-write no better phrases.

Whether Bascom saw that his extension concept would serve to generate that broad base of public support on which an institution relies, or whether he simply saw extension as building university greatness in purely idealistic ways is not clear. It is clear, however, that his successor, Charles R. Van Hise, recognized distinctly the practical public relations role of extension. He naturally would not justify extension wholely in those terms--"the purpose (of extension) should be simply that of service," Van Hise said. But he went on to point out to his colleagues that "utilizing the opportunity to carry out knowledge to the people will be a practical advantage rather than a disadvantage to the growth of a university along other lines."[7]

In the light of this background, it was only a question of time before an extension dean called a spade a spade: "Any off-campus program has potentialities of very significant and worthwhile public relations because of the satisfaction that people feel when they secure the benefits of the services made available by their university."[8]

The more effete extension administrators would continue to protest that "popularity" was neither one of the purposes nor even a result of extension,[9] and troglodyte historians would virtually ignore extension in their university chronicles.[10] But this did not alter the facts.

It is not that Bascom's idealism has disintegrated. It has simply been joined by a frank recognition of its peculiar utility. And only the frankness is new. The techniques of practical public relations have distinguished university extension since its inception. Indeed, university extension may be said to be the birthplace of several of the methods now utilized by a wide variety of agencies to attract and hold public support.

Today, university extension is the university's answer to the proposition that a university be responsive as well as responsible--responsible to academic tradition and its cultural roots, responsive to public needs and wants. The modern democratic university senses the spirit and the requirements of the times and moves to meet them, at the same instant yielding none of its freedom and conserving all of its unique resources. This is extension, this is public relations, and this is the university ideal.

It is in the origin and growth of its extension activities and the development of its public relations techniques, then, that the rise of the open university can most surely be traced. An analysis of university extension can consequently be expected to serve two ends. For students of higher education, it will show how the American university has sought with success to translate public needs into institutional aims, and institutional skills into public welfare and public acclaim. For students of public relations, such a study will reveal further those specific PR techniques which have worked in the past and which can reasonably be expected to function well in the future.

These ends will probably best be served if we follow in detail the story of a single extension division rather than survey university extension in general. The total extramural activities of American higher education are so diffuse as to defy ready description, much less careful analysis. Even the organized outreach of the universities through their extension divisions does not lend itself to microscopic study. A case study, on the other hand, can help to clarify our general understandings and sharpen our local insights.

What extension division to study?

Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University offers a clue. "Nothing," he says, "in the whole half century (1900-1950) stands out more strikingly than the expansion of higher education. More and more intellectual leadership came from a new source--the universities. From the West came 'the Wisconsin idea.'"[11]

Dr. Nevins' reference to "the Wisconsin idea" is in accord with the widely held belief that it was the University of Wisconsin which was the birthplace of university extension. While the mechanics of University of Wisconsin extension were probably not so revolutionary nor its effect so pronounced as is sometimes claimed, it is undoubtedly true that what came to pass at Wisconsin at the turn of the century was truly a new departure in educational causes and effects which has had a marked influence on college and university developments throughout the country ever since.[12]

It is indeed the University of Wisconsin, Frank Graham believes, which "has taught the university world that the university of the people has the responsibility of taking the university....to the people; to make all the resources of the university available beyond the college walls."[13]

The major vehicle for this state-wide projection of the University of Wisconsin was its University Extension Division. The first such division to be established and continued as a principal unit of a university, the University of Wisconsin Extension Division marked its 50th anniversary in July, 1957, a year in which its annual operating budget continued to exceed that of any other comparable unit.

As one of the oldest and largest extension divisions, the University of Wisconsin Extension provides those qualities of continuity, scope, and maturity which are basic to a significant case history. To the extent that the Wisconsin climate has been unique and the University's adjustment to it peculiar, conclusions drawn from a Wisconsin study will not be applicable generally. But to the extent that universities across the country have looked and continue to look to Madison "for ideas and standards,"[14] a Wisconsin study will have universal implications. Suffice it to say, at any rate, that probably no other extension division could provide a better focus for our study.

A journalist is always torn between the "chronological" and the "trend" approach to his task. The former runs the risk of being tedious and superficial; the latter, repetitious and presumptuous. Suppose we attempt a compromise. The main outline will be chronological, but there will be numerous excursions and detours designed to highlight those individuals and those concepts which give life to a skeleton of dates. What can result is a new look at a key episode in the emergence of that magnificent American invention, the modern state university, and a reinterpretation of its role in adult education.

Perhaps, from another point of view, it can be even more than that--a picture of America itself. Like Thornton Wilder's narrator, we can suggest that here is a time-capsule of the Americans of 1890-1960 in the provinces north of Chicago--in their teaching and learning, living and loafing, working and dreaming.

THE AMERICAN STORY

In 1893 a young man by the name of Henry Ford began experimenting with gasoline engines in a back-yard shed at 58 Bagley Avenue, Detroit.[15] By the spring of 1896 the first Ford car was ready to run. Ford discovered it was too wide to go through the door of the shop. He was so anxious to put it on the road that he grabbed an axe and literally smashed the bricks out of a wall.

Three hundred miles to the west, on the campus of the University of Wisconsin, gaping holes were being knocked in academic walls at the same time, as pioneers in educational public service experimented with the means whereby a state university might break out of the narrow, aristocratic bounds of the historic college and serve not the few but the many.

Neither Ford's two-cylinder car nor Wisconsin's one-cylinder extension were new inventions, but they fore-shadowed developments which, each in their own way, were to revolutionize America.

At first, Henry Ford concentrated on racing cars. His roaring monster, "999," with Barney Oldfield at the wheel, made him nationally famous. So with the University of Wisconsin. The "radical" activities of an early extension professor, Richard T. Ely, provoked public charges and a counter-defense by the Board of Regents in a ringing statement which was to build Wisconsin's reputation as the home of "continual and fearless sifting and winnowing."

In 1903, Ford organized the Ford Motor Company with $28,000 in cash put up by 12 lucky shareholders. "I will build a motor car for the great multitude," Ford declared. "It will be constructed of the best materials, by the best men to be hired, after the simplest designs that modern engineering can devise. But it will be so low in price that no man making a good salary will be unable to own one--and enjoy with his family the blessing of hours of pleasure in God's great and open spaces." Ford invited his old boss to invest in the venture, but Alex Dow declined. "I didn't know then, of course," Dow said later, "that he was going to make a million of the blamed things."

At the University of Wisconsin, the University Extension Division got on the road in 1907, financed by a $20,000 appropriation from the State Legislature. "Right or wrong," said its new dean, "you find here a type of university extension that does not disdain the simplest forms of service. Literally carrying the University to the homes of the people, it attempts to give them what they need--be it the last word in expert advice; courses of study carrying university credit; or easy lessons in cooking and sewing."[16] Some UW faculty members took a dim view of the development; like Alex Dow, they didn't know the University was "going to make a million."

The year 1908 marked the coming of the Model T in Detroit and the extension field man in Wisconsin. In 1913 Ford introduced modern assembly

line techniques, and production reached a thousand cars a day. By that time UW Extension involved correspondence study, class instruction, lyceum service, debating and discussion, package libraries, visual instruction, community institutes, health instruction, and other welfare work. The Division budget was approaching $250,000 a year, and some 10,000 people were enrolled in one type of course or another.

A humorist of the period remarked that "two flies can manufacture 48,176,552,154 new flies in six months, but they haven't got anything on two Ford factories." E.E. Slosson took a look at the University of Wisconsin and reported that, although its headquarters was at Madison, its campus had an area of some "56,000 square miles."[17]

Between 1917 and 1927 half of all the automobiles made in the United States were Fords, and the highways to hold them changed the face--and the habits--of the continent. By 1920 few self-respecting universities were without some form of extension, and their combined audience was in the millions. Nothing in the period was so striking as this democratization of higher education.

The erect, dignified old Model T became a national institution, the like of which has never quite been seen before or since. It had a distinct personality, its planetary transmission a certain metaphysical quality. People cursed the Model T and made jokes about it. ("We drive a red Ford because the state law says all tin cans carrying gasoline have to be painted red.") But, down deep everybody felt an affection for it.

It was so with the University Extension. Lincoln Steffens said it was as close to the farmer as his pig-pen. Conservatives may have reviled it, but the real public attitude was more often expressed like this: "It is such a satisfactory way for a woman with a family to keep her brain active".... "Only a common school education, which is the case with me, but I see there is a fair chance for all"....I obtained my entire education (in engineering) through the Extension Division and understand that I am the youngest person to have passed the structural engineers' examination in Illinois. Again I say I am deeply grateful."[18]

The car and the man whose name it bore were a lot alike. Henry Ford was a rugged individual, colorful, unpredictable, and warmly admired all over the world. When it came to doing something that he felt was right, Ford went straight ahead, like a Model T plunging out of the garage.

Americans will never forget the excitement he stirred up in 1914 when he raised the minimum pay of his workers from $2.34 to $5 a day. "Take the industrial idea," he once said. "What is it? The true industrial idea is not to make money. The industrial idea is to express a serviceable idea, to duplicate a useful idea, by as many thousands as there are people who need it."

Ford's counterpart could be found on the University of Wisconsin campus in the person of President Charles R. Van Hise. Distinguished scholar, astute administrator, capturer of headlines, he had an idea that the strength of the state university lies in its close relations to the state, and he engineered his idea into a campus-commonwealth partnership. "It is the duty of the state university to instruct young men and women," he said. "It is its duty to advance knowledge, and especially those lines of knowledge which concern the development of the state. It is the duty of the staff of the state university to be at the service of the state along all lines in which their expert knowledge will be helpful; it is their duty to assist in carrying knowledge to the people."[19]

In the '20s and '30s new hands and old took a crack at streamlining Extension at Wisconsin. But some of the thrill was gone. Other agencies were in the picture. Scandals and back-stabbings muddied the waters. And the depression diluted the flow of funds. At the River Rouge the Fords brought out first the Model A and then the V-8, but somehow the Ford era seemed to be a thing of the past.

When Henry Ford II came out of the Navy in 1945, he found the company falling behind the times. The system of management that had pushed Ford far ahead of the rest of the industry 25 years before was getting as rusty as an abandoned Model T. It took courage, but the founder's grandson decided when he became president to tear the whole thing down and start all over again. From both inside and outside the company he drew to him the ablest men he could find. First off, the new team scrapped the plans for a costly postwar Ford and rushed a new model into production. Out of this reorganization drive came a dynamic new company.

At Wisconsin the close of World War II saw the Extension reins pass to a young professor of political science, L.H. Adolfson. He, too, scoured the country for new talent and gave it every incentive to produce new ideas and new techniques in educational service. Thirty-four emergency extension

centers were set up to help handle the flood of returning GI's. Old departments were strengthened. Novel service bureaus cut across rigid departmental lines. New allegiances with cooperating agencies brought challenges and revenues. By 1952, the UW's Extension Division once again occupied a position of leadership in the state and nation.

The parallel between Ford and Wisconsin Extension is no mere coincidence. The growth and achievements of both have been made possible by the kind of America in which they have lived, by American democracy and its continual opportunity to seek change and progress freely. The freedom and opportunity of America are the silent partners of all those organizations which have helped make this country ever new, vigorous, and great.

So, while this is a study of a famous American educational enterprise in its first 50 years, it is also a look at America and her people. It is not the whole story of America, of course; but by analyzing this institution and its public relations, we can help ourselves see more clearly what the whole of America is like.

PUBLIC RELATIONS POSTULATIONS

What we are trying to see here, in other words, is something of a sweep of events, rather than confine ourselves merely to a recounting of dates and budgets. This is our objective, our sense of direction. To get anywhere at all, a case study probably needs such a principle, just as university public relations programs need a sense of direction.

What are some of the general public relations principles--the orientations--which we can expect to draw from this study of one public relations enterprise? The first is this very PR need for a sense of direction.

The Big Picture. A university and its extension division can become so engrossed in administrative "problems" that they lose sight of educational problems. Army generals have a word for this all-important sense of direction. They call it the "big picture." They realize that an infantry division, for instance, cannot accomplish its mission unless its staff officers have a long-range objective. They know that the minor "problems" of personnel and supply have to be subordinated to the major problem of strategy.

A university is like an infantry division. It needs a sure sense of direction. Its staff members must see the "big picture." The university public relations man can assist them in distinguishing between the relatively minor "problems" of administration and the vital long-range problems of educational policy.

A "problem," according to former Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, is a difficulty in the material order. A real problem is a confusion about the aim and destiny of the university. Problems are seldom exaggerated. "Problems" usually are. As Lord Eustace Percy, rector of the Newcastle Division of Durham University, has recently said: "Of all modern habits, the worst is to advertise every human activity as a "problem." It is bad for morale, as any commander of a military unit knows. The first rule in dealing with human beings is--don't fuss. So with universities.[20]

In the midst of drastic changes in the material requirements of education, it has been difficult for University of Wisconsin administrators to keep their attention focused on their real problems, so insistent have been "problems" about buildings, equipment, and finance. Yet only to the extent that the real problems of the University have been recognized and solved has the institution kept that sense of direction established by Van Hise in 1904--to build an educational enterprise "as broad as human endeavor and as high as human aspiration."

Balance. To pursue our military analogy a little further, a key public relations principle in American education is the same principle of balance which pertains to the relationship of land, sea, and air forces in any war. Balance means, first, that a great university be a great teaching institution, devoting itself to the conservation of cultures; to bringing all its students into juxtaposition with the leading ideas that have animated mankind; to help them learn to think for themselves and to develop their highest human powers--intellectual, moral, and spiritual. Balance means, secondly, that a great university be a great center of independent thought, of investigation, of interpretation--pushing ever outward the boundaries of the known and debating constructively the relevance of the unknown to daily life. And balance means, finally, that a great university be a great center of public service, moving out from its teaching halls and research laboratories to meet the educational needs of youths and adults alike, and carrying back to the campus the stimulation that comes from contact with the workaday world.[21]

The teacher, the investigator, and the outreach specialist, brought together on the same faculty, mutually strengthen each other and give the institution with which they are associated what Slosson called "unprecedented power and usefulness" in the supporting community.[22]

In its teaching, searching, and serving, a great university finds that balanced way of life which is the wonder and redemption of American higher education. Each function complements the other. To slight one markedly is to dilute all three. We shall see that this has been a critical contribution of public relations to the University of Wisconsin--that through an astute assessment of educational problems and opportunities, that University has achieved to a high degree a harmony of the forces and functions which fulfill its peculiar credos and attributes, serve the needs of the publics, and meet the challenge to higher education in a democratic community.

The Intelligence Wheel. Public relations procedures are closely akin to the intelligence process in a military unit. The intelligence process is a continuous circle which starts with the collection of information and runs through collation, evaluation, and interpretation to dissemination. The spokes are interdependent and the wheel starts to shimmy whenever one element is lacking. Public relations procedures involve fact-finding, planning, and communicating. Here again the steps are interdependent and the chain no stronger than its weakest link. Like Lee approaching Gettysburg, the university is operating blind whose reconnaisance forces are out recruiting halfbacks instead of polling public opinion. The university which fails to tell its story continuously, clearly, and candidly resembles the G-2 in Washington who didn't "get the word" to the troops at Pearl Harbor.

A sound intelligence estimate is always based, not on hunches or on a remembrance of the situation at Bull Run, but on carefully collected and analyzed facts about current enemy dispositions and capabilities. A sound public relations plan is likewise based on as scientific as possible a survey of going public needs and wants, and not on what university administrators think ought to be the situation or what they know to have been the situation elsewhere. Early attempts at university extension in America failed to a considerable extent because they were simply carbon copies of the cultural model which had worked in England but which had little relevance to the current American scene. When university extension was successfully revived at Wisconsin in 1906-7, there was a distinct shift of emphasis to the professional and vocational, a shift based on an accurate evaluation of the current situation and terrain.

Maximum Effort. General Patton once said the only tactical error he made in World War II was when he committed a regimental combat team instead

of a division in a certain engagement. "Never send a boy to do a man's job" is the GI way of expressing the old military principle of maximum effort. Many a battle has been lost because a commander chose to fritter away his forces piece-meal rather than to select an attainable objective and assign it to his main body. Similarly, university public relations is an "all hands" job. A single individual or even a single bureau can no more carry an institution's public relations load than a squad can substitute for a battalion. Effective public relations calls for the coordinated action of all the many contacts between a university and its publics, combining both the fire of fundamental teaching and research and the movement of adult education and public service into a consolidated assault on the gaining of that public appreciation and support which leads on to new resources and further objectives. In public relations there is a place for every weapon, from the courteous phone call carbine to the extension division guided missile. Each supports the other, and only through time-on-target coordination can a university expect to fire consistenly for effect. The PR man cannot "direct" public relations single-handedly. He can only fix objectives, facilitate, and prod.

Specilization. Although in its broader aspects public relations is undeniably an all-hands job, in its specialized aspect of university extension it calls for extension specialists. Just as the Army has developed a rash of military occupational specialties to replace the ubiquitous rifleman of yesteryear, so universities have built up whole staffs devoted exclusively to adult education. As a matter of plain fact, the ordinary college classroom teacher is not good enough for extension work. Most college faculties have to be rigorously combed to find scholars who have "the intellectual probity and the teaching skill to deal with adult education."[23] In the early days of extension the University of Wisconsin discovered that many of its most distinguished professors found refreshment in extramural teaching, but they could not long stand the pace of carrying on extension activities in addition to their regular campus duties. The attempt to replace them with immature fugitives from library carrels fell flat. Today Wisconsin Extension relies on mature men and women who devote virtually their full time and loyalties to the difficult task of off-campus teaching in all its many forms.

An extension division as an organization itself represents the military principle of polling specialized troops. Theoretically, each university department and school might carry on its own extension program as an integral activity. But this would be no more economical or efficient than for a corps to assign all its artillery batteries to its forward regiments. An extension division, like a corps artillery headquarters, provides the centralized managerial facilities necessary to the coordinated and widespread dissemination of university resources, and necessary to the effective flow of inspirations from the public to the campus as a whole.

Take the High Ground. Public relations does not involve kowtowing to every public whim, but it does involve a measure of reasoned temperization. One of the most valuable functions the PR man can perform is to protect his professorial colleagues from a bent toward jousting with windmills. The average university professor is much too inclined to fight at the drop of a hat over fancied restrictions on his freedom or invasions of his privacy. As a recent scholarly journal warned him, "To yield ground except under the pressure of overwhelming force is seldom the best way to defend the field."[24] Actually this is neither sound military tactics nor sound academic tactics. The successful general always chooses his own battleground, frequently withdrawing to high ground in order better to consolidate his position and control the avenues of approach, and it behooves professors to do likewise rather than to exhaust themselves on the outposts of indistinct issues and petty arguments.

On the other hand, once he has ensconced his institution on high ground, the respectable PR man moves heaven and earth to fight it out along that line "if it takes all summer." Our case study will reveal how the University of Wisconsin has been remarkably successful in choosing strong tactical positions from which to fight the battle of academic freedom, and in pursuing repeated campaigns to successful conclusions.

Consolidated Positions. The successful military commander is the soldier who not only takes his assigned objective but who then disposes his forces to withstand the inevitable counterattack. The same type of follow-through is the mark of the effective leader in adult education. Most Wisconsin extension programs have been examples not only of the concerted initial drive but also of the well-consolidated position. At times, however, sustained follow-through has been lacking, and it has resulted in such

unfortunate developments as lack of liaison between the University Extension Division and the schools of vocational and adult education. The vocational schools of Wisconsin were an outgrowth of University Extension--one of the most notable contributions to the American system of education traceable to the extension movement. Today, however, the vocational schools are in no way directly related to the University. Indeed, they are entirely separated from the rest of the educational system of the state, and there has never emerged that comprehensive program of part-time workers' education, inspired or directed by the University, parallel to the work in agricultural extension. The result may not be exactly "class war in education," but it is perilously close to it, and "it would be a mistake to assume that the greater forces in this competition for public interest are always on the side of the University."[25]

"Guts." Soldiering requires intestinal fortitude. So does public relations. Once he has developed a winning formula or an effective theme, the refined PR man is sometimes hardpressed to stick with it. He grows unable to stomach his own repetition, and he casts about for different plans and different mottos at about the time the public is only beginning to accept the originals. Van Hise grew tired of the phrase, the "Wisconsin idea," and wrote that it had become repugnant to him. Fortunately, his less discriminating press agents did not give up so easily. It was Robert Foss of the University News Bureau who breathed new pep into the concept in 1932 when he invented the slogan, "The boundaries of the campus are the boundaries of the state." Professor William H. Kiekhofer took a dim view of featuring the University's famous "sifting and winnowing" creed on Centennial literature in 1949 because, as he claimed, it was "a gratuitous slur on our sister institutions." He was overruled by Professor Scott Cutlip, who knew an effective motto when he saw one. Like the announcer who keeps saying "LS/MFT," the university PR man keeps hammering away.

Pace and Timing. A university in general, and its extension division in particular, are reservoirs of specialized and highly useful manpower, learning, thought, and facilities upon which the nation relies, especially in time of emergency. Days of international unrest are not time for routine performance on a campus. The university world must constantly be alert to every international development. It must keep abreast of the inescapable obligations, responsibilities, dangers, and opportunities which world

events thrust upon it. A university campus is not a shelter; it is an outpost. As university extension through the years has sought to reach emergency objectives, it has found there is no place for the leisurely pace. Each campus has "picked up the cadence." The University of Wisconsin, for instance threw the full facilities of its Extension Division in 1942 into activating and sustaining the United States Armed Forces Institute.

Extension divisions have discovered, too, that timing as well as pace is the essence of life in a rapidly shifting environment. The extension director who endlessly shuffles his data and needlessly delays committing him main effort is the McClellan who never quite makes the grade because he feels himself constantly outnumbered and outgunned. The best, to quote Patton again, is sometimes the enemy of the good. An adequate plan, carried out with dispatch, frequently can be more effective than an ideal plan debated and distilled until the optimum moment for action has slipped away. There is no secure place in university public relations for the campus administrator who repeatedly marches boldly up to the hour of decision and then turns and flees. Public relations must not be allowed to become a synonym for postponement.

Reserve. When he emphasizes his university's emergency objectives, and the pace and timing necessary to attain them, the campus PR man should not be caught implying that a university's total contribution to national security and national defense consists in turning over its resources to serve strictly military purposes. On the contrary, education best serves both democracy and national security in the long pull by consistently aiming true to its central purpose--that of developing superior citizens. There is no better national defense. America's real secret weapon is its legions of freedom-loving, truth-serving men and women. In their development, every university campus and each university extension division is a priceless Los Alamos. Nothing could be more disconcerting to the national welfare than for colleges and universities to be totally diverted from their basic mission. The long-time defense of democracy is not bullets but an intelligent population inspired by intellectual freedom, fortified by skills and understandings, and disciplined by strong loyalties to the highest of human ideals.

Throughout its history, we shall see how University of Wisconsin administrators have not allowed international turmoil, no matter how serious,

to warp or misshape the foundations and the structure of their institution. While they have served the present with emergency devices, they have also served the future by lifting above the clouds of conflict cardinal ideas and principles.

Even in times of comparative normalcy, the state university cannot afford to commit all its resources and withhold no reserve in its drive toward utilitarianism. While one facet of public relations undoubtedly calls for the extension expert who serves the public by aiding in the direct solution of socio-economic problems at community and state levels, another facet of public relations calls for the research scholar who pursues truth for its own sake and who permits no utilitarian purpose to influence his quest. No campus is so small or so specialized but what it can hold in reserve an element of its human and physical resources for an uninterrupted pursuit of those educational ends which go beyond limited horizons, shortrange objectives, and restricted achievement. The public university must be dedicated to public service, but it also must be something the public can be induced to acclaim and support for its essential high worth, and not something that has been transformed solely into an intellectual drug store and repair shop.

Training. Public relations men, like second lieutenants, are made, not born. Just as the infantry officer assimilates experience by studying the deployment of troops at Antietam and St. Lo, so can the PR man acquire know-how by studying the ebb and flow of the many relationships between an institution and its publics over the years.

To an examination of PR lessons from the outreach university, the succeeding chapters are devoted.

II

BACKGROUNDS

A successful public relations program is never conceived, and cannot be described, in a vacuum. It is part and parcel of its surroundings, drawing traditions from the past, inspirations from the present, and objectives from the future.

In 1904[1] there was set in movement at the University of Wisconsin a series of events which led directly, in July, 1907, to the creation of a University Extension Division, charged with bearing "the beneficent influences of the University to every home in the state." Those events between 1904 and 1907 are interesting and significant, but they are wholely inadequate as a total background to the milestone in the public relations of higher education represented by the establishment and maintenance of extension as a major unit of a major university.

Wisconsin's Extension Division did not spring full-blown from the head of a campus Jupiter. Its antecedents and its midwives were many. President Charles R. Van Hise is often credited with being its father, but this is a gross simplication, albeit a convenient one for commencement orators. What comes closer to the truth is the statement that the Division was the product of the sweep of American life at the turn of the century.

There was already in 1904 an American adult education movement in being, typified by mechanics' institutes on the one hand and Chautauqua on the other. A number of universities, including Wisconsin, had themselves dabbled in a kind of extension, and their public pronouncements went on to picture an as yet unrealized campus of vastly broadened boundaries. There was throughout the country a quickening of the social and economic pulse, and in Wisconsin particularly, vibrant progressive political action. Business and industry were beginning to welcome into the fold what would today be called public relations men. Public figures were paying closer attention to public opinion and the mass media that mold it. On the Wisconsin campus itself there was growth and flux, aspirations higher than the budget--and men of probity, vision, and imagination.

In short, in the America of 1900, the people and their institutions of higher education were coming of age, and each was looking to the other for guidance and support. Little wonder that there emerged from this caldron of hopes and ideas a unique vehicle for the interplay of life and learning.

THE AMERICAN CLIMATE

A Nation in Flux.[2] Post-Civil War America lay between two worlds. The world of the one-horse shay was expiring; the world of the bomb was just around the corner. Millions of immigrants were continuing to come to America, but their institutions, ideas, and cultures no longer flourished as replicas of the Old World. A new environment, new freedom, new inventions, and new creeds were producing an Americanism which was about to make its own contributions to Western civilization, not the least of which was a new conception of education.

Of paramount importance in the shaping of Americanism was the extension of the ballot to wider and wider elements in the population, and the expansion of the role of government in the affairs of the new nation. Nationalism and imperialism came to challenge states' rights and isolationism in politics; and social humanitarianism began to replace individualism as an underlying outlook, particularly after the excesses of capitalism produced agrarian-labor revolts. These political and economic stresses began to overshadow religious patterns as claimants upon the energies of men.

In education, the "genteel tradition" found itself under steady fire from the proponents of practical courses and pragmatic techniques. Court cases supporting public high schools over private academies gave a big boost to the movement for public education, and state universities accelerated in number, size, and scope. They were spurred considerably by competition from well-heeled private colleges and from such nonschool agencies as the lyceum movement, which for a time was an important vehicle of adult education.

An enormous increase in population, a vast increase in building the things needed to exploit the resources of a new continent, the rise of science and technology and their accompanying gadgets, the growth of political democracy, the expanding role of government, the growth of nationalism, and the general conviction that, as more and more people knew more and more about more and more facts, God would be all the more surely in His Heaven and all would be even more right with the world--this was the happy American soil in which the seeds of university extension found root.

La Follette's Wisconsin.[3] The 20th century arrived early in Wisconsin, and University extension there sharply reflected the local climate. Indeed, some writers have attributed to extra-University conditions and leaders the major role in the emergence of the service-oriented campus. Suffice it to say that extension originated less in a faculty committee than in a capitol cloakroom.

The Wisconsin of 1900--and particularly its liberal German and Norwegian communities--was the home of a grass-roots movement frankly dedicated to a larger measure of political democracy, a broader concept of popular education, and a wider sharing of the material benefits of civilization. Wisconsin was one of the chief spearheads in a national attack on the alliance of corporate wealth with political machines. This state pioneered with a notable revolt, a constructive program, and a great leader--Robert M. La Follette, Sr.

La Follette was a University of Wisconsin alumnus, a disciple of President John Bascom. The inspiration and philosophical basis for his struggle against the Republican Party bosses he drew from his UW commencement address in 1879, an address by Chief Justice Edward G. Ryan: "Which shall rule--wealth or man; which shall lead--money or intellect; who shall fill the public stations--educated and patriotic freemen or the feudal serfs of corporate capital?"

After a hitch in Congress and numerous skirmishes with machine politicians, La Follette by 1897 was ready for his career as an insurgent. He fired the opening gun at the University of Chicago on February 22, speaking on "The Menace of the Political Machine," after first supplying every weekly paper in Wisconsin with advance copies. Then, beginning with an address before 5000 farmers at Mineral Point on Independence Day, he toured the entire state in the next two and a half months, selling the then-revolutionary concepts of the direct primary election.

A Milwaukee Journal reporter described La Follette as "far and away ahead of the usual run of speakers;" and an Oshkosh listener wrote that "the speech made a profound and lasting impression on me....I went away in a dazed condition."

All Wisconsin was electrified that warm summer of 1897 by a one-man educational campaign. As lightning flashes of approaching storm, reform and change were in the sky. When the storm broke it washed La Follette

into the Governor's chair in 1900 and set his University to seeking ways in which a center of teaching and research could extend its services directly to the people and their government.

By 1914 the Progressives could point to a stringent corrupt practices law, a railroad commission, a strict dairy and food law, laws for the protection of health and sanitation, a two-cent passenger fare on railroads, a law providing shorter hours for railroad employees, an eight-hour labor law on public buildings and public works, a child labor law, a public utility law, a workman's compensation law, and an industrial commission.

With a state and its government plowing new ground in social legislation, it was completely natural that the same state's university would plow new ground in public education. The movement of the University of Wisconsin into the area of adult education and public services was undoubtedly in response to a widespread felt need for the educational resources of the University. And, once extended, these educational services fed the fires of experimentation and reform from which they sprang. The result was "the Wisconsin idea" of partnership between people, government, and university--an "idea" which won the enthusiastic acclaim of Wisconsin Progressives and of liberals throughout the country, and the chagrin of Stalwarts who worshipped the status quo.

Which came first, a Progressive state and La Follette, or a University with an "idea?" It is a case of the chicken and the egg. In the America of a half-century ago there was a tide in the affairs of men which both Wisconsin politicians and Wisconsin professors seized at the flood and rode on to fortune.

ADULT EDUCATION IMPULSES

A Distinguished Family Tree.[4] Charles R. Van Hise in 1904 called the state university "a new thing in the world," and in terms of its unique balance between teaching, research, and public service, it was. But no one of the three ingredients was itself new. As James Creese has aptly pointed out, the history of university extension is remarkably like that of a typical American family. Extension's antecedents go back to 18th-century England, and the first settlement on this side of the Atlantic occurred somewhere between Philadelphia and Baltimore shortly after 1800.

At Birmingham as early as 1789, members of a Sunday Society organized regular courses of lectures on mechanics for factory workers, and later put together an artisans' library of those reference materials needed for serious study. About 1800 a Glasgow teacher organized a "mechanics class" for local machine shop workers and soon was lecturing to 500 workmen. When he moved to London he formed similar classes there, and out of these grew, in 1823, the London Mechanics Institution. Coincident with the rise of industrialism, the spread of mechanics' institutes was rapid.

British universities thought about getting into the adult education act in the 1850s when Lord Arthur Harvey urged them to appoint circuit-riding professors. In 1857, Oxford University founded a system of local examinations to encourage more general adult education through the mechanics' institutes, 300 of which had formed a national union. Ten years later, a Cambridge Fellow, James Stuart, originated the English university system of extension lectures when he accepted an invitation to make a series of appearances in cities of northern England.

By 1873 Mr. Stuart had persuaded Cambridge to sponsor officially such lectures as he had been giving, and to set up local centers where instruction would be presented regularly under its direction. In 1878, Oxford joined the movement. By 1890, extension centers in 250 communities were attracting 40,000 people. Soon, university credit could be earned through extension, and tutorial classes came to supplement the lecture courses. When, in 1908, an Oxford committee took a look at university extension (the term had been coined there), it could report that 424,500 students had attended 32,146 lectures in 577 centers; that extension teaching had stimulated public interest in higher education; that it had redeemed hidden and isolated training; and that it had led to the establishment of new colleges.

This was a far cry from modern university extension, American-style, with its multiplicity of administrative bureaus, specialized personnel, and wide-ranging projects. It was extension of regular university subject matter by regular university personnel in conventional settings, with the least possible interruption of the traditional peace of the universities themselves. But Oxford-Cambridge Extension did bring these Universities to people for whom, until then, universities had been in a world removed, and it gave to the university extension concept a distinguished family tree which was to help make the idea acceptable to hide-bound American faculties.

As in England, the first American adult education impulses stemmed from non-university sources. Mechanics' institutes appeared here almost simultaneously with their inception in England and were greatly stimulated by the moral support of such famous names as Benjamin Franklin and by the financial support of such philanthropists as John Lowell, Jr. Prior to 1840, however, it was the American Lyceum which was the real focus of U.S. adult education enterprise. Commenced by Josiah Holbrook in 1826 as a lecture system for the small towns of Massachusetts, the lyceum movement gathered momentum rapidly.

Institutes and lyceums were to play their part in siring American university extension, but the virile dam in this case was Chautauqua. Take one part each Bible class, circus, political convention, and laboratory seminar, mix thoroughly in a large tent, add a touch of library and a dash of college, bring to a boil over the fires of Utopian planning--and you get a rough idea of Chautauqua. Here was the American of Gladstone, Barnum, and Bryan distilled into one draught of uplift and spending itself in an orgy of religious and educational evangelism. The author is not old enough to have seen Chautauqua before its atrophy in the 20s, but he still remembers it as a hair-curling experience. Television's Ed Sullivan and Norman Vincent Peale are but pale and emasculated images of the sights and sounds and smells of Chautauqua at its peak.

John Heyl Vincent, a Methodist clergyman who later became a bishop of his church, and Louis Miller, a businessman and church worker of Akron, Ohio, started the Chautauqua movement in 1874. They purchased a camp-meeting ground at Fair Point on Chautauqua Lake, New York, and began a two-week summer conference for Sunday School teachers. Thanks to sound management, astute promotion, and dedicated aspirations, Chautauqua's annual assembly quickly developed a staggering variety of educational work: a scientific conference, a temperance conference, a church congress, all with an array of secular as well as religious subjects. In effect Chautauqua became a folk university, and college instructors were called shortly to give courses on college subjects. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, formed in 1878, enrolled at one time as many as 60,000 students for home study and consistent reading. The CLSC reached towns too small to support a lyceum or a library and at one time had enrollments in 10,000 communities in the United States and Canada. Examinations were given, and diplomas were

awarded on a gala assembly day in August to those who completed the four-year CLSC course.

Responding to reports from overseas and spurred by the activities at Chautauqua Lake, American universities began to try their hand at adult education, and university extension had a quick growth here in the eighties and nineties. The English system of extension lectures, with all of its paraphernalia of syllabi, quizzes, and exams, was first advocated in this country by Herbert B. Adams, professor of history in Johns Hopkins, speaking at the annual meeting of the American Library Association in 1887. As a matter of fact, systematic public lectures had been given at Johns Hopkins from the very beginning in 1876, even as Benjamin Silliman of Yale had presented public talks on chemistry and geology in 1808; in 1879 Johns Hopkins had organized a Workingman's Institute in a near-by industrial town. Adams' proposal was adopted promptly by several city libraries, notably in Buffalo, Chicago, and St. Louis, and Columbia University's librarian sold the plan to the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

For a time, university extension boomed. The Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, organized in 1890, quickly became the American Society for Extension Lecturing, stimulated the establishment of 23 centers of extension teaching in the winter of 1890-91, and held a national convention in Philadelphia in 1891. By that time some kind of extension work had been begun in 28 states and territories.

At this juncture William Rainey Harper drew up for the brand new University of Chicago a "unique and comprehensive plan" by which he hoped to "revolutionize university study in this country." The central idea of his plan was one of community service, and he set up a Division of University Extension as one of his five coordinate units, a Division empowered to offer, in the classroom and by mail, college courses for college credit. English extension, Americanized at Chautauqua, had come to the American university campus.

Wisconsin Grafts.[5] The University of Wisconsin in the 19th century was by no means immune to the winds of adult education and public service, and it grafted a couple of departures of its own to the university extension tree.

One was the Farmers Institute.

Public relations procedures are said to begin with the polling of public opinion. In the year 1884 there was no need for the University of Wisconsin to conduct a Gallup poll in order to sense the public pulse. It could listen to the rumblings from a convention of farm leaders on its very doorstep. Those farm leaders were unhappy about the state of agricultural education in Wisconsin, and they proposed the establishment of an agricultural college separate from the University.

The University had had a department of agriculture within its College of Arts since 1868, a full-time professor of agriculture since 1880, and a small though vigorous agricultural experiment station since 1881, but as for agricultural students there were practically none at all. Meanwhile neighboring states had taken advantage of the Morrill Act to set up flourishing "A&M" colleges. Little wonder that the State Grange would say that "the University has....not fully met the wants of the agricultural classes."

The University Board of Regents, with what was probably at the time parochial pride but with what turned out to be remarkable foresight, stood firmly in opposition to a separate school, and bestirred itself in 1885 to find the means of appeasing the farmers. If the agricultural course as organized by the faculty did not attract students, the Regents would change it. Regents William F. Vilas and H.D. Hitt came up with a plan for a practical short course in agricultural subjects which was adopted by the Regents, over the opposition of Agricultural Professor William A. Henry, just a week before a bill for a separate agricultural college was introduced in the State Assembly.

If the Regents surprised the University faculty by organizing a farm short course, the Regents were themselves surprised when the Legislature appropriated five thousand dollars for a series of farmers institutes, the funds to be administered by the Regents. Thus, before the bill to establish a separate college of agriculture had come to a vote, the Regents had devised a short course, and the Legislature had provided for farmers' institutes. The bill failed to pass and the separation movement never again received serious consideration.

Here was a clear case of an American institution of higher education responding to the needs and demands of the larger public, with the initiative for that response coming from men and groups outside the university faculty.

These factors were to be typical of the origin and growth of university extension throughout the country.

The Wisconsin short course did not attain immediate popularity, but the farmers institutes did. During their first year fifty thousand farmers attended the sessions, and by 1888 Harpers Magazine reported--enthusiastically if not accurately--that an agricultural revolution was taking place in Wisconsin, "greatly assisted, if not inaugurated," by this systematic popular instruction from the University as the center. To this day in Wisconsin, all you have to do to assemble a crowd of farmers is to call your meeting an "institute."

It was the Regents' farm committee, and not the faculty or the president, which formulated the institute pattern and pushed the program. In 1888, two-day meetings were held in 81 communities. Emphasis was on practical solutions of farmers' problems, with both professors and farmers leading the discussions. From the start, Superintendent W.H. Morrison used the weekly press to help build attendance, and each institute was "well publicized."

In 1887, in-service training of teachers entered the picture through a Teachers Institute Lectureship offered in 42 communities.

The strength of early extension effort at Wisconsin was not drawn exclusively, of course, from institutes. English extension, Chautauqua, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, the International Correspondence School, the Monona Lake Assembly--these and other movements were attracting considerable attention in the '80s and '90s. Herbert Adams came to Madison in 1890 to make a speech supporting university extension. Local lyceums were using University talent. Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins and Chautauqua would be brought to Madison in 1892 to head a new School of Economics, Politics, and History and to lend substance to extension concepts and content.

In March, 1890, the first series of UW mechanics institutes was begun at Racine under the auspices of the mechanics committee of the local YMCA. They won no quick popularity. The next year C.D. Marx was employed as professor of civil engineering to develop the institute idea. His success can be measured by the fact that at the end of the year the institutes were dropped and Marx went elsewhere. Poor financial support, inadequate leadership, the variety of industrial problems which made a common core of interest hard to find, lack of a clear sense of direction--these were

the factors of failure. When the institute idea was revived, in 1901, it was in the form of a summer school for artisans conducted by the engineering department of the University.

At the same time that Chamberlin was wetting the University's toe in vocational extension, he was also urging that the University develop what Turner called the "culture side" of extension. Concurrently with the opening of the 1891-92 academic year, plans were firmed to offer 10 courses of extension lectures, the cost to be born by registrants, certificates granted for work completed. Leading members of the faculty participated--Birge, Turner, Scott, Freeman, and the like. This variety of extension met with what Chamberlin called "unexpected success." In the first year, courses of six lectures each were offered in American history, English literature. Scandinavian literature, Greek literature, economics, antiquities of India and Iran, bacteriology, physiology of plants, electricity, and landscape geology. Requests were received for 107 courses but it was possible to offer only 50 in 35 cities. The estimated average attendance at the lectures was 170; 127 took examinations and 93 passed the exams and were given credit on an "equitable" basis. "Nothing the University has done," wrote one commentator, "has so thoroughly and happily brought it close to the people in every nook and corner of the state." All told, it was a remarkable year, leading immediately to larger plans.

These plans included the hiring, in 1895, of a full-time secretary of the extension department--Jerome H. Raymond, an experienced "extensionist" from Chicago. At the end of his first year, Raymond could report that 57 courses had been offered in 43 communities. Raymond also helped to establish a system of correspondence courses, formally announced in 1896. Although they attracted attention at the time, they were poorly organized and poorly promoted, failed to draw students, and were dropped when Raymond resigned in 1897.

Almost as suddenly as it burst over the horizon, extension lecturing waned. About the same number of courses were offered in 1896-97 but the number of calls declined. When Raymond left, responsibility for extension was turned over to the newly established School of Education. There the movement languished until it was revived early in Van Hise's administration.

The collapse of the extension movement at Wisconsin as represented in the extension lectures could have been predicted. In the first place, it

was modeled so closely after the effete English pattern that it was out of place in a Wisconsin only a generation removed from the frontier. Turner and others may have attempted to fit borrowed syllabi "to our environment," but they did not succeed. The courses were pointedly a compromise between "class-room work and popular lectures," and they satisfied neither those looking for full University credit or those seeking an evening of pure diversion. Secondly, extension was not systematically promoted. Except for a fortnightly Bulletin for Editors, the extension department assumed that public need was automatically a public demand. Third, on a sustained basis the extension lectures placed a heavy draft on the time and energies of professors and frustrated their efforts at research. When Birge, Turner, Scott, and others withdrew from "the University list," their places had to be taken by younger and inexperienced men whose performances were not appreciated by their audiences. Fourth, adequate administrative machinery was lacking. Except for Raymond's brief service, extension was expected to "run by itself." The School of Education failed to appreciate the tool it was handed. Fifth, unlike the farmers institutes, general extension was not subsidized. Faced with bearing the whole cost of the courses, communities grew reluctant to risk running in the red, particularly after the novelty of extension had worn off and platform experts had been replaced by young research assistants who insisted on talking over the heads of their listeners. Sixth, the extension movement was launched at a time of political unrest, and the revival of extension at Wisconsin in 1906-7 occurred during a period when social ferment again was mounting. Finally, university extension spurred other agencies and media to get into the adult education act, and in many cases these were more indigenous and less expensive.

But merely because the extension lecture series collapsed, it does not follow that the whole extension movement failed at Wisconsin. University extension at Wisconsin in the 19th century consisted of many things: the mechanics institutes, teachers institutes, a summer school, the farmers institutes and short course, the extension lectures, and correspondence study. Of these the summer school enjoyed a healthy growth and was transformed into the Summer Session before Van Hise became president; and the farmers institutes and the short course likewise grew and expanded. Moreover, the principle that the University should conduct this type of work was fully accepted. In his first message to the Legislature, Governor

Robert M. La Follette repeated without dissent the declaration of the Board of Regents: "The State will not have discharged its duty to the University, nor the University fulfilled its mission to the people until adequate means have been furnished to every young man and woman in the state to acquire an education at home in every department of learning."

Perhaps even more significant were two events during the decade which, while they were not extension developments per se, were to earn rank as two of the ten "red-letter" events in University of Wisconsin history and were profoundly to effect University-state relations throughout the coming century.

The first was the Babcock test. In 1890 one of the professors of the College of Agriculture, S.M. Babcock, announced the invention of a simple, quick, and accurate device to determine the butterfat content of milk. The immeasurable value of the Babcock milk test to the dairying industry and Babcock's refusal to patent the process won for him and the University immediate wide acclaim. Even more, here was clear, dramatic evidence that state bread cast upon the waters of the University research would return a hundred-fold. The University was, indeed, a service center meriting generous state support. Research produced practical knowledge to be extended. Succeeding generations of legislators would never be allowed to forget these facts.

The second event was the Regent statement on academic freedom in 1894. Richard T. Ely, as we have seen, joined the Wisconsin faculty in 1892. Already a controversial figure in American economic life, he brought along two colleagues and took over the machinery of residence teaching and extension lectures to further his brand of liberal thinking--thinking which today would raise no eyebrows but which to the conservatives of the '90's constitutes "attacks upon life and property." A disgruntled Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oliver E. Wells, provoked a public controversy in 1894 when, in a letter to The Nation, he charged that Ely "believes in strikes and boycotts, justifying and encouraging the one while practicing the other." The Regents faced the issue squarely. In a "trial" well-covered by the press, they investigated the charges and acquitted Professor Ely. Then, encouraged by President Adams, they went beyond the demands of the immediate situation to pen a bold and eloquent affirmation of academic freedom:

"As Regents of a University with over one hundred instructors supported by nearly two millions of people who hold a vast diversity of views regarding the great questions which at present agitate the human mind, we could not for a moment think of recommending the dismissal or even the criticism of a teacher even if some of his opinions should, in some quarters, be regarded as visionary. Such a course would be equivalent to saying that no professor should teach anything which is not accepted by everybody as true. This would cut our curriculum down to very small proportions. We cannot for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present condition of society is perfect. We must therefore welcome from our teachers such discussions as shall suggest the means and prepare the way by which knowledge may be extended, present evils....removed and others prevented. We feel that we would be unworthy the position we hold if we did not believe in progress in all departments of knowledge. In all lines of academic investigation it is of the utmost importance that the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the indications of truth wherever they may lead. Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere we believe the great state University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

The sentiments of this declaration gave to the University national stature and state-wide respect, say Curti and Carstensen, and beyond doubt contributed to the effectiveness of the "Wisconsin Idea." Men officially encouraged in "fearless sifting and winnowing" could and did speak out; they could and did contribute to better government, to improved agriculture, to more efficient industry, and to the widespread diffusion of culture. Bolted to Bascom Hall, the concluding sentence of the 1894 declaration has become that finest of public-relations documents, an apt turn of phrase which both expresses and symbolizes and institution's effervescent ethos and iron determination.

THE DAWN OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Mass Media and Mass Persuasion.[6] Public relations--the organized reaching out of an institution to grasp the hands of its constituents--was in the air in the America of 1900. Free schools and the ballot had lent unprecedented literacy and dignity to the individual citizen and unprecedented

power to the body politic. The mass media were replacing group relationships as primary means of communication. These basic trends were bound to produce the art of mass persuasion, create the need for the skilled communicator and intermediary, and stimulate the search for devices and functions which would relate impersonal corporations to their stockholders. Universities watched what was going on in the marketplace and acted accordingly.

One of the roots of public relations undoubtedly lay in press agentry. Between 1810 and 1891, P.T. Barnum was parlaying hoopla and hokum into box office receipts. Politicians adopted some of his more legitimate methods. The Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1896 saw both party headquarters issuing for the first time the heavy stream of pamphlets, posters, press releases, and other campaign propaganda which is now a standard part of the American political campaign. Theodore Roosevelt went on to refine the patterns of political public relations.

But perhaps the most fundamental development in setting the stage for the emergence of public relations was the revolution in the attitude of business and industry at the turn of the century. In the quarter-century before 1900, commerce had been riding high. It was the era of "the public be damned." And then the roof fell in. The excesses of the trusts fed the fires of protest and reform. Strict regulatory legislation and a wave of trust-busting put business on the defensive. Corporations gradually began to realize the importance of combating hostility and courting public favor. The expert in the field of public relations was the inevitable result. One of the first and most successful was Ivy Lee, who was retained by anthracite coal interests in 1906. By the time of World War I and George Creel, public relations programs and public relations men were fixtures on the American scene.

Wisconsin's Bleyer.[7] The stirrings of public relations on the national front were represented at the University of Wisconsin by the activities of W.G. Bleyer. Although he was up to his neck in fathering a journalism course, Bleyer found time to develop one of the earliest and most comprehensive PR programs on a university campus, one which was to help provide both the climate and the support for vigorous extension growth.

Bleyer stemmed from a Milwaukee newspaper family and as a UW undergraduate had been editor of the Cardinal, the student daily. In the spring of 1904, with a Ph.D. thesis in English under his belt and an appointment

as an assistant professor in that department secured, Bleyer and President Van Hise reached an agreement on the power of publicity in aiding the progress of the institution and on the desirability of a press service which would announce the University's story to the state. When the Regents approved the establishment of a news bureau, it was Bleyer who got the nod as editor. He took over in May and published his first Press Bulletin in September.

The University had had an abortive Bulletin for Editors in 1896, but this was a palid mimeographed affair given over largely to advertising off-campus lectures. Bleyer's Bulletin soon blossomed out as a printed "clip sheet" which ranged the campus for its copy and "distinguished between what is strictly news and progaganda matter."

To orient his colleagues to this new creature, the campus publicity man, Bleyer undertook an intensive educational campaign. In this he was aided by the fact that a number of key professors smelled of printer's ink. J.B. Parkinson, vice-president and professor of political science, had for many years been editor of the Madison Democrat. W.B. Cairns, professor of English, had been the managing editor of the same paper. Van Hise himself was a financial backer of the Wisconsin State Journal.

The majority of Wisconsin editors welcomed the Bulletin. They had realized the importance of university news, but were unable to cover all of its happenings with their limited staffs. The Bulletin meant their columns could tell about astronomy and sociology as well as about athletics and social events. As more and more "tips" flowed into his Bureau and more and more stories out of it, Bleyer added an assistant editor and graduated himself to the arena of broader public relations.

He blackballed the Cardinal for jumping release dates. He urged University officials to prepare statements counteracting editorial barbs. He brought the Wisconsin Press Association to the campus in February of 1905 for a meeting at which Van Hise read a Bleyer-composed address challenging editors to meet their obligations in promoting adult education in general and their University in particular. He plumped for an illustrated University brochure and for a series of public-affairs pamphlets. He engineered a tour of the campus by members of the National Editorial Association. And he brought editors of high school publications down to Madison for short-courses.

By 1913, Bleyer's bureau was ready to go full steam when a contingent of 120 mayors, editors, educators, and other public officials from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York entrained for the University of Wisconsin to take a four-day "course" in the workings of the "Wisconsin Idea." Never before, and seldom since, were the polling-planning-publicizing elements of public relations so effectively distilled on a university campus.

That year, as blood brothers inevitably do, the Press Bureau and the Extension Division got together, and Professor Bleyer went to South Hall to devote his full time to his Department of Journalism. But the groundwork that he laid continued to lend news value to the extramural relations of the University and had its national impact in the organization of college news bureaus throughout the country.

THE UNIVERSITY SETTING

In the Beginning Was the Word.[8] One hundred years ago higher education in America meant primarily the small academy or college, with its classical curriculum, sex segregation, and dormitory residence, founded by private donations and swayed by denominational interests. Today American higher education features the sprawl-king state university, with its strongly vocational courses, minimum costs, co-educational, non-sectarianism, and vast research and public service programs, supported by tax monies. In this transition the University of Wisconsin has played a significant role.

Prior to the foundation of the University over a century ago, the federal government had granted two townships of public land within the Territory of Wisconsin "for the use and support of a university." John W. Sterling, a graduate of the University of New Jersey (Princeton) became the first Wisconsin professor. It was he who opened the preparatory department in February, 1849, after the State Legislature had set up a Board of Regents.

First chancellor, as he was then called, was John H. Lathrop, a graduate of Yale College and former president of the University of Missouri. He served from 1849 to 1858. During his tenure the University bought what is now known as Bascom Hill, built North and South Halls, and limped along financially on the income from the sale of its lands. Though his institution was a most modest one, Lathrop envisioned a University which would be more than a classical academy, where "the industrial classes of the state are to find their position....placed side by side with the so-called learned

professions." "The American mind has grasped the idea and will not let it go," he said, "that the whole property of the state....is holden subject to the sacred trust of providing for the education of every child in the state." Institutions of learning were to be "co-extensive with the entire educational wants of the community."

Lathrop was succeeded by Henry Barnard, an eastern educator of great reputation, who spent only a few months in Wisconsin because of ill health. During his short tenure, however, Barnard did his bit to advance the idea of the larger university and its responsibility for developing "all the means and institutions of education intended for the great masses of the people."

During the Civil War, the University was kept alive in the face of shrinking enrollments and budgets by the tenacity of Professor Sterling as acting chancellor. After the war's close, returning soldiers took up their studies and by 1870 there were nearly 500 students in residence at Madison. In 1866 a complete reorganization was effected and Dr. Paul A. Chadbourne of Williams College was called to the presidency. Under him the University received its first direct gift from the Legislature--$50,000 for the construction of a residence hall; the Law School was founded and a professor of agriculture added to the faculty. Chadbourne, too, contributed to the evolution of "the Wisconsin Idea:" "The object (of the University) is to obliterate the supposed superiority of the so-called learned professions by securing a liberal--that is, the highest--education for those who choose industrial pursuits, thus lifting agriculture and mechanic arts from the plane of mere routine labor to the dignity of the learned professions founded upon scientific knowledge and allied to, or connected with, those branches of learning essential for a broad and generous culture of the whole man."

Chadbourne was followed by John H. Twombly from 1871 to 1874. During his administration there was a gradual approach to co-education at Madison. On the side of finance, there was a distinct change of policy when the Legislature in 1872 voted an annual tax of $10,000 for the benefit of the University. From 1874 to 1887 the president of the University was John Bascom. He increased the physical plant, helped improve high school instruction throughout the state, and brought to the campus an ethical and spiritual leadership. It was Bascom who gave to "the Wisconsin idea" its philosophical base: "The University of Wisconsin will be permanently great in the

degree in which it enters into the revelation of truth, the law of righteousness, and the love of man."

Thomas C. Chamberlin (1887-1892) and Charles Kendal Adams (1892-1901) came next to the presidency. In the social life of the student as well as in the character and organization of the academic work there was a marked transition from the college of former times to the modern university. Chamberlin proved to be a man of great originality and boldness with a mind unfettered by commitment to any one type of learning or any one discipline, and he conceived a broad program to widen and deepen the activities of the University. The state university, he contended, must work for the entire people; its influence must be radiated out through its students, through work with the common school system, through university extension, through the investigation of old and new truth, and the dissemination of the results of these investigations for the benefit of all. Adams was of like mind, thanks, in part, to his prior experience at Cornell. A state university, he proclaimed, was not an accident; it was the "creation and possession of the people," and its progress rested squarely upon the support of the people. In turn, "there are thousands, yea, tens of thousands who desire to avail themselves of (university) instruction, but cannot leave their homes to go to the university. Cannot the university be taken to them?"

The expansion of the University continued unabated under the two-year provisional administration of Dean E.A. Birge. The number of students in attendance had passed 1,000 in 1891-92, and had passed 2,000 in 1899-1900; over 3,000 students registered in the autumn of 1903. To meet the necessity of furnishing instruction to this body of students the faculty had not only been greatly increased in number; it had been much modified in character. Under President Bascom and even under President Chamberlin, it had been composed very largely of professors; now it was composed of departments, organized in four Colleges: Letters and Science, Agriculture, Law, and Engineering. Schools of Commerce and Education typified the growth of new emphases.

This was the University of Wisconsin in which Charles R. Van Hise rose to the presidency in 1903, and which he was to use to demonstrate that a state university is not a place but an instrument.

The Word and the Flesh.[9] If ever an institution were the lengthened shadow of a man, that institution was the University of Wisconsin in the early 20th century, and the man was Charles R. Van Hise--student, alumnus, geologist, professor, and president.

By adopting the journalistic penchant for personifying historical movements, it perhaps becomes easy to place too great an emphasis on the Van Hise role in the flowering of the University of Wisconsin in general and its Extension Division in particular. It is true that Van Hise's classic inaugural address did not mention extension per se, that so late as 1905 he was unwilling to give an opinion on the subject of correspondence study, and that he even once expressed his "repugnance" at the use of the phrase "the Wisconsin idea." But it is equally true that, once "sold" on extension, Van Hise became its staunch supporter, that he fully appreciated the means of organizing, controlling, and exploiting the two-way flow of traffic on this public-relations street, and that he became willing to equate his record and the record of his University with extension's "service to the commonwealth" concepts.

It might have been possible for extension to take root and blossom at Wisconsin in the absence of Van Hise, but it would sorely have missed the hoeing and watering which he administered.

What was it in and about Van Hise that made him a patron of public relations pioneering?

At the outset, Van Hise was a Wisconsin small-town boy with innate sympathies for the un-schooled and undoubtedly some native perception of virgin fields lying await for education's plow. Later he came to know his whole state intimately as he back-packed over its rocky outcrops on many a geological survey. As one of its first graduate students and then as a junior staff member, he also came to know the University intimately, and to love it. "To become a professor in my own Alma Mater" was his early dream.

He was an undergraduate in Bascom's day, and although he had no close contact with the man, the Bascom ideals of public service were a part of the very air which Van Hise breathed on the Hill. Through a friendship and kinship with Chamberlin, Van Hise assimilated even more concrete ideas of a broader university, ideas which were to be crystallized during his association with the University of Chicago, and then applied through his

own activities with the State Geological Survey. Later, as an evangelist on such national topics as conservation and trust-busting, Van Hise came personally to represent the affinity of seminar and soil.

In short, Van Hise's own horizons were never bounded by classroom walls, and it was only natural that he would encourage his whole institution to look across Mendota to the bluffs beyond.

Van Hise's interest in the world outside the campus did not mean that he was an extrovert. Quite the contrary. Not only was he not a hail-fellow-well-met; some of his tactics in personal dealings were calculated to strike sparks. This temperament contributed directly to his predilection for and early mastery of the less intimate but more manageable forms of communications. In a day when the use of visual aids was sufficiently unusual to warrant newspaper comment, Van Hise prepared lantern slides and used them in his classes. He took a deep interest in his assignment to faculty committees on publications, public functions, and the embryo summer session; these assignments in turn undoubtedly sharpened his insight on the emerging role of public relations in university affairs.

One of the first acts of Van Hise as president was to set up a university news service. The same year he helped breathe new life into the Wisconsin Alumni Association and its monthly Bulletin. With as neat a sense of timing as was ever demonstrated by Ivy Lee, Van Hise postponed his formal inaugural to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the University's first commencement, and the resulting "Jubilee" was the occasion for a truly stirring array of academic processions and pronouncements which focussed the attention of the entire state on Madison. Van Hise's own speech on the occasion has been described by a student of higher education as a "most farsighted statement." Certainly it can be shown to have had a marked influence on UW developments ever since. Although the similarity between Van Hise's utterances and those of Harper, Turner, and La Follette on the same platform is striking, this is probably due to the fact that all four were giving voice to philosophies largely in the public domain and not to the presence of a Benjamin Fine who drafted the entire proceedings. It is clear, however, that Van Hise found writing a chore and that he later retained at least one "ghost" to whom he sent memos alternating between lavish praise and stern rebuke.

Van Hise, then, came early to grasp the importance of factual yet dramatic communications between the University and what Chamberlin had called "its patron community," and he encouraged the utilization of many media, both the tried and the novel. As others have commented, Van Hise did, indeed, have a "flair for publicity." But it was more than that; it was a conscious recognition of public relations as a vital aspect of academic life.

That he was not a "Rotarian" did not mean that Van Hise was without friends. Again, quite the contrary. He was the center of a coterie of campus and city colleagues who were quite willing to engage in considerable manipulating to further the career of their star. Frederick Jackson Turner was a close friend and co-worker who supplied Van Hise with educational and social philosophy and who managed his "campaign" for the presidency. Robert M. La Follette, Sr., was a classmate and admirer who, consciously or not, stacked the Board of Regents with Van Hise fans. C.S. Slichter and M.S. Slaughter were gregarious neighbors. These and others were members of the Town and Gown dinner club, where "Bob" and "Van" generated the "Brain trust" which was to cement relations between the two ends of State Street and attract the attention of reformers the world around.

Van Hise the administrator was a "natural" as god-father to extension. He believed in action. His correspondence is full of such admonitions as "We must vigorously push the matter." And he believed in delegating to deans, to department chairmen, and to faculty committees. When he found the Extension Director he wanted, he gave him a nudge--and the bit. Even more, he set an example of vigorous administration. In his first message to the Regents in 1904, Van Hise indicated in considerable detail the needs of the University. Then he went tooth and nail after the tax money to foot the bill. Marshalling his contacts with mass media and pressure groups, penning deft letters to the Governor, and appearing personally in legislative corridors, Van Hise put the University on the road not merely to solvency but to what his Stalwart enemies were to call "a profligate waste of public funds." Nor did he duck and run when investigators appeared on his doorstep. True to his faith that, given the facts, the public would respond, he laid statistics on the table--and won. This was his battle cry:

"It is absolutely certain that the annual increase in wealth of the state due to investigations and to dissemination of knowledge among the

people (by the University) is more than 10 times the entire grants of the State to the University."

That this same argument has been repeated somewhat less successfully by his successors is no testimony to its speciousness but is, rather a tribute to Van Hise's peculiar talents as an academic publicist.

Van Hise made no little plans. From his "10,000-student heating plant" in a day of 2,000 registrants to his state-wide campus boundaries, Van Hise was at the frontier of educational statemanship quite as much as he broke new ground in A Treatise on Metamorphism.

Like many scientists, Van Hise was not well-read outside the field of his specialty. From extension's viewpoint it is fortunate that the fountains of his social thought were books and men in the liberal tradition. From the writings of Sociologist Lester Frank Ward he became persuaded that the greatest waste of a natural resource is the waste of human talent. This dovetailed neatly with Van Hise's broader views on conservation and led him to wax poetic in the hope that Wisconsin would harbor no mute, inglorious Milton. From Ely, Turner, Hutchins, and McCarthy, he acquired both stock in the traditional American faith in democratic education, and detailed suggestions on how to turn dreams into reality.

Extension sprang, too, from whatever copying Van Hise might have done from sister institutions. Others have pointed out the coincidence that the men whose names are remembered for the foundations of graduate schools and university centers of research are also the men who began the extramural work of the universities of this country: Gilman of Johns Hopkins, Harper of Chicago, Van Hise of Wisconsin, Vincent of Minnesota. Wherein lies the significance of this fact? First, there was undoubtedly an element of "keeping up with the Joneses." Secondly, scientists who were discovering new knowledge were the very men who were eager to see that knowledge disseminated and applied. Third, all these men, directly or indirectly, were influenced markedly by Chautauqua. Fourth, and perhaps most important, only those presidents who had first established themselves with their faculties as being completely respectable in terms of their devotion to internal standards could afford to project those faculties into external activities.

Did Van Hise see Extension not alone as service by and from the University, but also as service for the University? He said so:

"While the university extension movement was actuated....by no other purpose than to perform a larger service to the state of Wisconsin, we have found that it was wise simply from our own point of view."

A university which emphasized the older curricula alone could never have secured the popular esteem, and hence the appropriations, that the broader University of Wisconsin did. This is the heart of the Van Hise heritage: that a university to be of and by the people must be a university for the people, and that only to the extent that a university is for the people will that university and those people prosper. This is the rationale of the outreach university, and this is the rationale of public relations. Van Hise may not have invented it, but he supplied the gas.

His native bent honed by W.G. Bleyer's counsel, Van Hise became what one of his young staff members was later to call "a natural born public relations man." By 1915 his press agent, Grant M. Hyde, and members of the Madison reportorial staffs were in the Van Hise office--or the Van Hise wine cellar--every week, picking up story tips and engaging in off-the-record bull sessions.

The Van Hise adeptness at public relations shines all the more brightly in retrospect because his successor, E.A. Birge, was the utter opposite of Van Hise in his attitude toward the press and the uses of publicity. Birge was not only indifferent to the press and public opinion; he was positively secretive. The only statements Hyde got out of Birge's office he got by subterfuge. In the early '20s, articles on the UW virtually disappeared from the pages of general magazines of national circulation. State editors denounced the Birge policy of "covering up." The vacuum created by the lack of constructive news releases was filled with rumors, sensational features, and the charge that "the University is slipping."

It is, of course, an oversimplification to say that Van Hise enjoyed public favor and public largesse because he was a good PR man, and that Birge was the butt of calumny and short rations because he was not; but it is no mere coincidence that a president who recognized a news story when he saw one was the builder of a great university while the man who had no use for a publicity office is remembered largely as a limnologist.

GOSPEL AND GADGETS

What, in summary, had Van Hise and his cohorts inherited as they set about to put university extension on the road?

First, they had inherited as a philosophy the Bascomian edict: That it is the university's prerogative not to dwell in splendid isolation but rather to move out to the people, studying and helping to provide their "conditions of prosperity and peace." That in the revelation of truth to the hinterlands, the university becomes an instrument of divine "love of man." And that under the operation of a "law of righteousness," though goodness may temporarily be worsted, in the long run education will triumph over wrong.

Secondly, Van Hise and his cohorts had inherited a big, broad university with rich resources to be extended and already with a policy of responding to public requests for practical educational services.

Third, they had inherited a state oriented to looking to the campus as a source of "irrigating streams" of knowledge and service.

Fourth, they had inherited the concept that public service is the best type of public relations with which to build support for the bigger appropriations required by the expanding University. William Rainey Harper had told them that university extension was not only a means of fulfilling obligations to the community but "...a promising opportunity for building up the university itself..."

Above all, Van Hise and his cohorts had within their ranks both the engineers and the businessmen not averse to carpentering projects which would turn honest dollars into campus coffers--and the missionaries devoted to carrying "light and learning" hither and yon. Together they fashioned "the Wisconsin idea" of a university whose campus boundaries were those of the state, thereby building public relationships which would nourish the development of higher education.

THE BRAIN TRUST

"The Wisconsin idea" was to consist principally of the farmers institutes, the University Extension Division, and the free-lance advising work of professors. The first had been in being since 1885. Van Hise activated the latter concurrently with his assumption of the presidency. As a matter of fact, it grew almost automatically out of the Madison luncheon club to which Van Hise, La Follette, and their town-and-gown comrades belonged.

In his inaugural address Van Hise proposed that professors be used as technical experts by the state government. He felt that professors had knowledge which might be useful in helping to solve various social and

political problems. Nor did he propose in vain. Governor La Follette began to use professors in state positions. "I made it a....policy," he later recorded in his autobiography, "in order to bring all the reserves of knowledge and inspiration of the University more fully to the service of the people, to appoint experts from the University wherever possible upon the important boards of the state--the civil service commission, the railroad commission, and so on--a relationship which the University has always encouraged and by which the state has greatly profited."

While it is impossible precisely to measure the influence of University professors upon legislation and state government, it is clear that some of these men for a time exercised a powerful force. John R. Commons was the author of the Industrial Commission Act and served for a period as one of the commissioners. T.S. Adams, who helped draft the Wisconsin income tax law, served on the tax commission. A number of other professors held prominent positions--all told, 46 by 1912. The fact that University professors were advising the governor and the Legislature and serving in administrative and other posts in state government, coupled with the fact that Wisconsin during the first decade of the century was a pioneer in various political reforms and social legislation, led commentators then, and ever since, to equate the "Wisconsin idea" with the interplay of learning and law. In 1907 William Hard in an Outlook article described the University as "a kind of 'consulting engineer' in the public life of the state." A generation later Edward Doan saw the "Wisconsin idea" as standing for "a new technique in public administration." Clearly, the Van Hise-La Follette brain trust was a novel and effective departure in University-state relations which served to help clear the way for an even broader extension of University resources.

Nor was the advising work of professors confined to government at the state level. Ely and Turneaure, among others, responded to calls from the League of Wisconsin Municipalities, which had been formed in 1898. And the influence of the University was felt at first hand in Milwaukee through a Settlement House organized with an Ely protege, H.H. Jacobs, as "warden" and the University as sponsor.

"BILL FACTORY" MEN[11]

Operating on the flanks of the brain trust, but so much a part of the concept that visiting reporters were mistakenly to accord them faculty

status, were three men of the state's Free Library Commission who were to play major roles in the development of University extension at Wisconsin.

Frank A. Hutchins, a "genius for creating quietly," had come to Madison as a member of the staff of the superintendent of public instruction in the early 1890s. He had been instrumental in the creation of the Free Library Commission in 1895 and had become secretary of the Commission. The Commission was organized to assist small libraries. Its functions were quickly expanded under Hutchins' leadership. The Commission contrived and popularized the package library, and it created a Legislative Reference Bureau, begun in 1901 when an appropriation was made to the Commission for the establishment and maintenance of a working library at the Capitol for the use of the Legislature, the executive departments, and citizens generally.

A one-time editor of the Beaver Dam Argus, Hutchins always lent to his proposals a keen sense of public appeal, and this was to help grease the ways for the Library and later for University extension.

To the post thus opened Hutchins brought Charles McCarthy, son of an immigrant laborer, football star at Brown, and Wisconsin PhD in history. With Hutchins' aid and support, McCarthy quickly expanded the services of the Library to make it a uniquely successful legislative reference bureau. At first it sought to provide Legislators with all the information available on the problems on which they wished to legislate. In 1907 provision was also made to offer legislators a bill-drafting service, and this "bill factory" became one of the central features in McCarthy's 1912 book on The Wisconsin Idea.

From his mentor Hutchins, McCarthy acquired a feeling for a news story, and he coupled this knowledge with a rather flamboyant Irish flair for headlines which stood extension in good stead in the days when the state became the mecca for inquiring reporters spying out the lay of La Follette's land.

It was from the men on the Free Library Commission that a clear demand came for a new University extension service, conceived partly to satisfy the demands for information received by the Commission and the Reference Library, born also out of what can only be described as a pervading passion for public service. Thus the movement to revive extension at Wisconsin, like so many of the movements which aimed to make the university more

useful, was not initially an internal movement. First Hutchins, then McCarthy, and later Henry E. Lagler, who succeeded Hutchins as secretary in 1903, began to urge Van Hise, shortly after his election as president, to reinstitute extension work.

THE FIRST STEP--FACT-FINDING

Public relations, we have said, involves the mutual adjustment of an institution and its environment, and the first step in the process is fact-finding--analyzing the current situation, determining public needs and wants, and communicating those ideas and inspirations to the institution.

Unconsciously, perhaps, yet nonetheless surely, the University of Wisconsin's new president filled his ears with the voice of the larger public as he sought ways to stimulate that larger public support which a larger university budget requires.

From Ely, who always considered himself an "extensionist," and from Turner, who had published on the subject, Van Hise learned what the passage of the frontier meant to Wisconsin. The value of the state's annual industrial output was challenging that of its forests and farms. With the developing industries of the lakeshore area came an increasing need for trained technicians. With the developing popular government came in increasing need for informed voters. No longer were the farmers institutes the whole answer in university extension.

From the governor of the state, Van Hise got a clear "go ahead." In his 1905 message to the Legislature, La Follette urged increased appropriations for education and especially for the University, for not only did its research projects more than repay its costs, but its "liberally educated graduates" were important factors in keeping "popular government in its best form."

From the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Van Hise heard a request that its trades school become publicly supported.

From McCarthy in 1905, Van Hise heard a forceful plea that the University move back into extension work. McCarthy's enthusiasm and powerful position could not be ignored. McCarthy amplified his urgings with a self-financed study of the activities of commercial correspondence schools in Wisconsin. Some 35,000 Wisconsin students were paying over $800,000 per year for such work. Here, McCarthy said, was the means of financing his enterprise; extension would be self-supporting within a year. McCarthy

also sent to the president a detailed memorandum on a plan for extension.

From leading Wisconsin citizens, Van Hise received comments on University extension work. A fellow educator declared unequivocally that this move would make the University the "most democratic school in America." A Milwaukee banker gave his hearty support. A Railroad Commission member said extension would "bring the school and the people closer together." A Milwaukee merchant thought extension would quiet criticism about the "aristocratic tendencies" of the University.

Although Van Hise knew such letters had all been solicited by McCarthy and Legler, they had their effect. In 1905 Van Hise told the Association of State Universities that "a state university should not be above meeting the needs of the people, however elementary the instruction necessary to accomplish this," and he announced that the University of Wisconsin was planning to "enlarge the scope of university extension."

THE SECOND STEP--PLANNING

Although he was proceeding much too slowly to suit McCarthy, Van Hise was gauging his speed carefully because he was intent on avoiding that pitfall of many a university plan--lack of faculty support. His first move was to transfer extension quiety out of the hands of the School of Education, which had never sensed its possibilities. In December of 1905 the executive committee of the Regents approved an appropriation of $250 to revive extension work, and in January of 1906 appointed a history instructor as secretary of the department for the remainder of the year. That done, Van Hise asked for and got a Regent appropriation of $2,500 for the work.

But no university project is on sure ground, Van Hise well knew, until it has received the blessing of a faculty committee. In October of 1906 Van Hise appointed such a committee to investigate and report on the nature of correspondence work and the University credits to be given for it. Van Hise made sure he would receive a favorable report by including on the committee those well-known friends of extension, Ely and Turner.

In due course--in fact, with surprising dispatch--the committee reported back, supporting the proposed extension program and observing that if the University did not respond to the demand, other institutions would. Recognizing that some of the work would not be of such a character as to merit

academic credit, the committee felt that much work of University level should be offered, with appropriate credit attached. Here, indeed, was a solid rock on which to build extension.

Now Van Hise turned to the job of picking an extension director. William H. Lighty, an acquaintance of Professor Ely and a former social worker in St. Louis, had been appointed in July of 1906 to take charge of correspondence work. He had displayed energy in organizing and promoting correspondence courses, and because of his liberal and humanitarian leanings, he was to prove a valuable man to have on the Wisconsin team, but he was not of the stature that either Van Hise or McCarthy pictured as extension director. McCarthy had his candidate--Frederick W. MacKenzie, a recent UW graduate and newspaperman, who was closely associated with the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Van Hise, after consultation with Dean Birge, was unenthusiastic. He wanted a scholar for the position, a man whom the faculty would accept as an equal. McCarthy was incensed. "Frankly," he wrote, "the professors in the University have, as a body, opposed this whole work, and a man who would be acceptable to them would in my opinion be of no value to this movement."

Van Hise did not retreat, but he speeded his efforts to find the right man. Probably no other single factor so clearly marks Van Hise as an astute PR man as his role in the selection of Wisconsin's first extension director. Faced with insistent demands that he appoint a "promoter" from outside university circles, he steadfastly recognized that public relations begin at home and that university extension could never succeed in the long run without at least faculty suffrance if not faculty support. He found his man in the dean of Penn State's college of engineering--Louis E. Reber, brother-in-law of a Wisconsin professor, recognized educator, and a veteran exhibitor at the Paris, Columbia, and St. Louis expositions.

Van Hise had his public support, his ideas, and his men. He did not neglect that fourth ingredient in PR planning--money. In his 1906 report to the Regents he declared that "too much cannot be said as to the importance of University extension under which the University goes out to the people," and the Regents approved a new budget of $7,500 for extension work for the next year. Nor was that all. The Legislature of 1907 was asked to make a special grant for the work. So well was the groundwork laid by the lobbying of McCarthy and the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association,

that the Legislature voted unanimously an annual appropriation of $20,000 for general University extension. The University of Wisconsin Extension Division was in being.

The missionary work of Hutchins, McCarthy, and Legler; the evidence of support from prominent citizens in the state; the recommendations of a faculty committee; the organizing work of Lighty; direct political action in the Capitol; competition from sister institutions and private schools; a tradition of service to the commonwealth; a state ripe for educational stimulation and its resulting reforms; a friendly governor; the temper of national times; a personal bent toward extramural activities--these were the forces which influenced Van Hise and which he in turn mobilized in the form of public relations through public service.

THE THIRD STEP--COMMUNICATING

Thanks to the foresight of Van Hise and Bleyer, the University of Wisconsin had a vehicle for accomplishing the third step in public relations--publicizing. The University News Service had been in action since 1904. Indeed, it is not too much to assume that extension may have had one of its roots in Bleyer's search for newsworthy projects. Beginning as early as January of 1906, when the extension department was reactivated, the press of the state began to carry stories about "President Van Hise's policy of 'extending the advantages of the University to as many people of the state as possible.'" His October statement got a goody play: "The reorganized extension department (will) assist all the groups of people that wish to undertake work of serious character of whatever kind in any part of the state." The official birth of the Division and the appointment of Reber in July, 1907, were all handsomely covered in Bleyer's Bulletin.

Then began that flood of national publicity which almost suggests that the fame of the "Wisconsin idea" was based practically as much on the enthusiasm of volunteer press agents as on solid achievements. William Hard in a 1907 Outlook, Charles Johnston in a 1909 Harper's Weekly, Edwin E. Slosson in his 1910 Great American Universities, a 1912 article in Review of Reviews, F.B. Morrison in a 1913 Outlook, Frank Parker Stockbridge in a 1913 World's Work, a 1913 Independent editorial--these and others sang the praises of Wisconsin and its University, typified by Lincoln Steffens' tribute in a 1908 issue of the American Magazine:

"In Wisconsin the University is as close to the intelligent farmer as his pig-pen or his tool-house; the university laboratories are part of the alert manufacturer's plant; to the worker, the university is drawing nearer than the school around the corner and is as much his as his union or his favorite saloon. Creeping into the minds of the children with pure seed, into the debate of youth with pure facts, into the opinions of voters with impersonal, expert knowledge, the state university is coming to be a part of the citizen's own mind, just as the state is becoming a part of his will. And that's what this whole story means: the University of Wisconsin is a highly conscious lobe of the common community's mind of the state of the people of Wisconsin."

Even an ex-president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, joined the refrain: "It is not too much to say that the University of Wisconsin occupies a position entirely unique, not merely in this country but in the world, as an institution which, beyond all others, has come nearest to recognizing the ideals of using the instrumentalities of higher education for rendering the greatest possible service to the country."

Some of this coverage was spontaneous on the part of the state and national press. Some was inspired by the University's growing corps of publicity men. Some was documented by Extension promotional material. Some grew out of official University pronouncements. Together, reporters, publicists, promoters, and professors contributed a vast array of column inches to the job of communicating. Van Hise has based his Jubilee inauguration on the Biblical injunction to observe the 50th year. He may well have based Extension and its resulting publicity on another Biblical recommendation: "Except ye utter....words easy to be understood, how shall it be know what is spoken? For ye shall speak into the air."

One thing was sure. The University of Wisconsin in 1907 was not speaking into thin air. It was a complex institution seeking to adjust itself to a complex evolution of Western culture, and it had discovered a promising method of adjustment. Between 1907 and 1918 University Extension, begun as an experiment in dynamic sociology, was to emerge as an irreplaceable function of the modern state university, transmuting that university from a community of scholars into a community of citizens, the beginnings of the outreach university.

III

PIONEERING

Four attributes were to distinguish Charles R. Van Hise and Louis Reber as pioneer public relations men. The first was their recognition that public relations is primarily a matter of policy. The second was their recognition that public relations policies require specialized personnel for their implementation. The third was their recognition that such specialized personnel bring progress but not necessarily peace. And the fourth was their recognition that, while public relations perfection is never attained, an institution strives toward it by retaining an alert outlook and a flexible format.

PUBLIC RELATIONS PIONEERING

Such principles were not entirely new to public administration in the early 1900's, but the way in which Van Hise and Reber applied them represented "somewhat different and broader lines than had previously been attempted."[1] They were breaking new ground, and the fact that they carried some of their policies to extremes does not detract, in the long view, from their great contributions to the development of the American university and its public relations.

Principles. Effective public relations does not involve simply those acts on the part of an institution which it can perform conveniently in the public arena, accompanied by suitable fanfare. PR, in short, is not gratuitous handshaking. Effective public relations involves the shaping of an institution's functions and policies to fit internal resources and external needs, accompanied by two-way communications. PR, in short, is a working philosophy.

Van Hise and Reber developed such a philosophy. In 1907 they took an institution which still was more a Medieval college than a modern university and they reshaped not only its form but its ethos into a campus which by 1918 was no longer 50 acres at Madison but a dynamic part of the life of an entire state. "Service to the commonwealth" was their banner, but it was more than a motto on a Jubilee coin; it was a way of living for a whole University, a new, pervasive policy of educational public relations.

What were the "underlying ideas" which this "new" University espoused?

The first was the realization that knowledge had far outrun the assimilation of people. There had been greater advances in knowledge since 1850 than during the previous 2000 years, yet much of this know-how was not being utilized. To inject new knowledge into grade and high school curricula was not enough. Mature citizens needed it now. "Adults must continue their education throughout life."

If knowledge "must be carried out to the people," what institution should do it? The University. "To carry light and opportunity to every human being in all parts of the nation--this is the only adequate ideal of service for the university." This had not been the function of the traditional university, but that was beside the point. Whether public service and adult education was the function of the modern university "should be decided by the simple criterion as to whether the university is the best fitted instrument to do this work." If the answer was yes, the university should go ahead. The University is the one agent of the state "which can and does so embody the combined intellectual life of the community that it can apply that life on any level for the betterment of the community. The University can work wherever need appears....The University is therefore the institution, and it is indeed the only institution, whose campus can be coextensive with the state." Furthermore, it was the desire of the University to reach not only those "who feel the need of assistance," but also those who, "not realizing a need, may upon learning the possibilities for self-improvement open to them...., be led to avail themselves of the opportunities thus offered." The Extension Division was the agency by which all or any knowledge not only could but would be transmitted to those who sought it and to those who ought to have it. The University was to be restrained by no rigid notions that certain activities were beneath its dignity. "The State University of Wisconsin is willing to undertake any line of educational work for which it is the best fitted instrument, without regard to the preconceived notions of anybody, anywhere, concerning the scope of a university."

The University, in short, had no wish to be protected from "material contamination." As Max Otto was to write later, the issue of the times was not an issue to be fought in the hard and stony passes of the human spirit--the strict Thermopolaes of time where even if a man is licked he cannot die. The real issues were to be fought in the hard and stony passes

of existing conditions where if a man was killed he was dead as a door nail. Mighty questions were agitating the public, and Wisconsin's scholars did not intend to wrap their academic robes about them and abstain from the conflict.

Another idea was "fundamental" in University extension work--"to find a way for the boy or girl of promise whatever the conditions of birth." The greatest waste of the nation was its waste of talent. Democracy depended on equality of opportunity. Extension would retain for Wisconsin "the essentials of democracy"--"the opportunities of our boys and girls....to obtain an education broad and complete, fitted to the demands of the present time." Van Hise would "create a situation in which mute, inglorious Miltons shall become an impossibility."

Finally, while public relations should not be extension's avowed purpose...."the purpose should be simply that of service"....it was nevertheless clear, as Van Hise saw, that "utilizing the opportunity to carry out knowledge to the people will be a practical advantage rather than a disadvantage to the growth of a university along other lines." By injecting into the classroom the considerations of Main Street, extension would enliven instruction. By bringing to the laboratories the problems of field and factory, extension would buttress research. Public service activities would attract attention, then interest, then students, then support. Taxpayers could be brought to lift the level of University appropriations only if the University first helped "lift the life of the state" through practical service and liberal education, and that not only at Madison but in Mondovi and Marinette. When visitors came from afar to see what all the excitement was about in Wisconsin, their interest would be "a powerful factor....in maintaining a university on the highest plane."

All this added up to what John R. Commons called "the utilitarian University." "This rainbow we had in the sky," Van Hise said, and proceeded to build what Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen were to evaluate as "the means of vastly extending the area of (the University's) influence." His Extension Division "enjoyed the flattery of widespread imitation," occupied "new areas," and was a "concrete" vehicle of service to the state.[2]

But there was one catch to the philosophy of utilitarianism. It turned out to be much easier to "sell" practical, "get-ahead" material than to extend the cultural. Extension, consequently, tended to take on a coloration not wholly that of the mother University. This was more extension <u>by</u> the University than extension <u>of</u> the University, and it did not escape criticism.

Resident Professor James F.A. Pyre, for example, observed that public service more properly ran toward presenting one's fellow man "with some just impression of a value in art or morals or an elusive concept of gravitation, rather than toward providing him with cheaper electricity or subtilizing his philosophy of municipal sewage."[3]

Van Hise was not unaware that courses which would show direct pay-envelope results were, in a sense, not quite respectable institutionally. He went out of his way to tell University students that "the least commendable purpose of acquiring knowledge is to apply it to one's own advancement. A higher purpose is to fit one to live the intellectual life--to train one to appreciate the beauties of poetry, of music, of painting--to understand and be inspired by nature in her various moods." Lighty subscribed wholeheartedly to this point of view, but he was hardpressed to retain a semblance of liberal extension in the face of field salesmen who constantly promoted the utilitarian. The net effect was that "the influence of the University....in the fields of social and political behavior was neither as large nor as lasting as many enthusiasts claimed and predicted."[4] It would remain for a new generation of Extensionists to bring the outreach of the University into balance with the resources at home base.

Personnel. Reber was the man Van Hise picked "to bring the rainbow to earth." One thing Louis Reber came very soon to be sure of: chasing rainbows was no job for the resident professor, first, because the University staff, which had contributed much in the beginning, had its own work to do, and second, because Extension workers should possess special qualifications plus a "proper viewpoint." "Workers must be in thorough sympathy with (extension work) or disappointment will result," he told the Board of Regents. In correspondence study particularly, there was danger that "the influence of the old academic spirit may operate to make vocational (training) ineffective and practically valueless." In addition, Reber envisioned the state divided into administrative districts, and he wanted teachers and promoters--"traveling professors" and "field men"--stationed in each district.[5]

The first Extension instructor joined Lighty in 1908. By 1914 the Division had 51 full-time and 16 part-time faculty members, plus 45 clerks and stenographers. The public service specialist had come to the campus, to take his place in the triumvirate along with the teacher and the researcher. Probably no other single factor so accounted for the rapid and widespread expansion of University services.

But specialization had its drawbacks, particularly when carried to the extremes which Reber and Lighty felt were required by their dreams of a great and virtually separate "extramural University." As whole academic departments grew up within the Division, Extensionists increasingly lost touch with the parent schools and colleges on the Hill which held the balance of power in prestige and wherewithall. The surface results were lower salary increases and slower promotions for Extension personnel. The deeper meaning lay in the gulf that developed between ongoing scholarly research on the campus and the transmission of that new knowledge to the hinterlands. Field men upstate become scarcely better informed than their customers. Even Extension professors at Madison were divorced from cross-fertilization with productive scholars.

This unfortunate development did not go unnoticed in the neighboring College of Agriculture. Dean Harry L. Russell was to copy much from Extension as he set about building his Agricultural Extension Service, but he did not repeat the mistake of putting his extension specialists too far out on the flank. "Departmental solidarity" became the heart of his plan as he closely correlated teaching, research, and extension in such a way that each Ag School department came solidly to rest on "a three-legged foundation." The wiseness of his choice was not immediately apparent so long as University Extension could operate on accumulated resources and hunches. But by 1927, for example, Agricultural Extension was basing its outreach on findings from John R. Kolb's fundamental studies of rural life, while University Extension, with no integral research facilities and poor liaison with the Hill, was groping in the dark for new avenues of service. Once again it would remain for a new generation of Extensionists to see that "research programs (be) made an integral part of Extension activities" by building back into Extension its original ties with the mother University.[6]

Problems. Van Hise had no illusions but what taking his University into the marketplace "to lead in the advancement of the people" would provoke oppositions. "The spirit of the University," he knew, "is in irreconcilable conflict with those who hold that the present state of affairs is the best possible." But he did not flinch from the inevitable contest. "Following truth wherever it leads without regard to its bearing upon persons or nations is the spirit which the University must not yield," he said. Indeed, the University should become "the very foci of disturbance." It did.

The advising work of professors in the Capitol linked the University closely in the public mind not just with state administration in general, but with the Progressive Republicans in particular. Extension "package library" topics closely resembled the planks in the Progressive platform--unintentionally, perhaps, but nonetheless distinctly. Milwaukee Extensionists, operating from an office in the City Hall, were accused of being "captives" of the Social Democrats. Van Hise might protest that his University was not in politics in the mundane sense, but to a Stalwart Republican leaders, the University was a tool of liberal, if not radical, agitators. There was no doubt, as Van Hise said, that there was "between the university and the reactionary an irrepressible conflict." And he made no moves to trim the University's sails. "Wherever there is progress there is no peace," he declared.

This was academic courage, and hence the finest in university public relations policy, but Van Hise and his staff members were not always content simply to allow the spirit of the University to waft them into conflict. They displayed a positive genius for finding trouble.

John R. Commons served the Progressives and Socialists exclusively because, as he put it, the Conservatives never asked him. McCarthy's intense interest in Extension exposed him to repeated charges of active lobbying. At least one Extension field man was closely connected with La Follette's political organization. College of Agriculture professors were indiscreet enough to distribute mail-order price lists among farmers. Van Hise himself went somewhat afield from geology and academic administration to pen a book on trust-busting.

When Governor Emanuel Philipp sought to reduce taxes by consolidating government departments, University officials landed on him with both feet for advocating the integration of higher education, forestalling a development which was to prove successful in other states.

Extension administrators were not too strict in their bookkeeping. A system of carrying incompleted registrations over from one year to the next and counting the total registrations instead of total completions of courses produced a misleading impression of the net impact of correspondence study. "Dot maps" were used to show graphically the extent of University services state-wide, and no distinction was made between a chance consultation and a full-fledged lecture. The result was that Wisconsin appeared annually to

have a comprehensive case of chickenpox, but this had only an accidental relationship to bona fide services extended. Van Hise and Reber encouraged this circus-type of publicity, and they personally took a hand in it. Together they addressed a meeting of the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association in 1907. Less than a year later the Association reciprocated by sending out an appeal to all manufacturers of the state urging support of a legislative appropriation for Extension work.

Some of the Regents themselves took a dim view of such proceedings. G.D. Jones scored "the fictitious demand" for Extension grants and argued for "attention to the regular University appropriation measures which are sanctioned by the Regents."[7] Jones continued to be a persistent critic of Extension, and not without some justification. Senator La Follette had been permitted to speak on University Extension programs. Jones proceeded to make sure that University facilities would be used only by those officially connected with the University. By 1915 he was railing at "the employment of incompetent people" and the failure of the Extension Division to maintain standards as high as those that prevailed on the University faculty.[8] Reber, he said, had a liking for "the bombastic and braggadocio style of things." Extension had been "largely organized and operated on very thin material; wind and water have had too much to do with it."[9] Dean Birge made the growing schism between residence and Extension still worse by agreeing with Jones that Extension work was definitely "an academic 'sideline.'"[10]

Yet direct intervention in legislative halls--over the head of Bascom Hill--came even more to be hallmark of Extension tactics. McCarthy had steared the 1909 budget along from his vantage point in the Capitol. When Governor Philipp threatened to trim the Extension appropriation in 1915, "spontaneous" testimonials poured in from plant managers, mayors, editors, and engineers. Fieldman Marshall Graff unofficially worked for the passage of a Milwaukee building bill in 1923. Two years later, four field men appeared at a legislative committee hearing in support of an even larger grant for the Milwaukee Center. Meanwhile the official University "party line" said that the University had no intention of establishing a "branch" in Milwaukee.

What had happened was this: "Following truth wherever it leads" was one thing. Direct political action was quite another. In its zeal to

reflect the spirit of the times the University had yielded to the spirit of one political faction. It forgot what no university can even afford to forget, that in American politics seven years of feast are always followed by seven years of famine. So securely was the University fixed in the public mind as a creature of Progressives that when the Stalwarts returned to power they returned literally on an anti-University platform. The University which had labeled "absolutely false" the charge that it was in politics found itself inevitably in politics up to its neck, with no Stalwart anchors to windward. The wounds were many years in the healing.

As for the Extension Division itself, its rambunctious lobbying activities placed it in the unenviable position of losing friends at home and alienating people up-state. Overt legislative pressure may be very effective in the short haul, but it always leaves open sores.

Some public contests the successors of Van Hise and Reber were to continue to find "unavoidable," but latter-day Extensionists narrowed the possibilities by playing their public-relations cards a little closer to their vests. Courage the University did not lose. It did acquire discretion.

Policies. A public relations-minded institution packs a triple-threat attack. It can run, pass, or kick. It can even stall for time. Just as they were wedded to no traditional ideas as to the scope of a university, Van Hise and Reber were wedded to no fixed Extension objectives or methods. They allowed the situation and the terrain to dictate their course. It was this flexibility in outlook and application which allowed Extension consistently to open new University pathways to public service and public favor. "Consciously patterned after the privately owned correspondence schools, aimed at being all things to all men, evangelical in outlook, unreservedly committed to the assumption that one sure way to earthly salvation lay through education, the new Extension Division developed quickly, energetically, and conspicuously,"[11] and always with an ear to the ground.

Intuitive public relations expert that he was, Reber flew the policy of "flexibility" from the masthead of his Division. Always ready to build new programs to fit the changing needs of his constituency, always willing to cancel out projects as other agencies appeared to take them over, always agreeable to the adaptation of academic work to practical goals, Reber built an organization that was indigenous, rubbery, and ever-changing.

But, like any policy, flexibility can be overworked. The Extension Division grew up around academic departments engaged principally in correspondence study. As the need arose for special-service activities, these activities were not integrated with appropriate departments but rather became the excuse for the creation of an assortment of special-service bureaus. Hence, for example, a bureau of visual instruction had no organic connection with other Extension services for the public schools, and a drama program had no ties with the English department. By 1926 the Division's organization chart was a maze of boxes with precious few connecting lines. The result was that Extension's sub-units lacked the flexibility which marked the Division as a whole. Correspondence study instructors were that and nothing more. Service bureaus knew nothing and cared less about correspondence study. This institutionalism within institutionalism made it difficult for the Division to contract or expand in a balanced fashion, and it encouraged in staff members a deadening parochialism. Thus, by 1933, when the Division director was trying to get correspondence study into the CCC camps, one of his veteran correspondence-study professors was writing for national publication on correspondence-study programs in terms of the fact that "we used red ink to correct errors and black ink to give hints for improvement. We expect replies to comments in red ink. We allow a student leeway in matters in which black ink is used."[12]

Because Reber was something of an autocrat, his heterogenous organization worked reasonably well for him, but when he passed out of the picture in 1926, there is strong evidence that the Division rode off in all directions. When L.H. Adolfson started picking up the pieces in 1945, he had to move slowly, but as a student of public administration he moved surely to the point where, by 1955, the Division flow chart made sense.

PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZATION

It is not surprising that Reber's organization had its rough edges. He had no model, and the striking fact is that what he created out of whole cloth as the pattern of American university extension has not changed greatly in the succeeding 50 years, at least not in its superficial characteristics.[13] A contemporary later wrote that Reber had "limitless vision and a brave heart."[14] Something like this was undoubtedly required in a situation where, as McCarthy reported, "I have scarcely met a professor in the University

who has not been in some way opposed to this (extension) movement."[15] The ideas which Reber and Van Hise expressed were not in themselves unusual. The remarkable thing was "what was done...in terms of an organization conceived and created, a staff assembled, trained, and made effective."[16] Reber was the man who translated the aspiration of Van Hise for University service, the enthusiastic hopes of such men as McCarthy, Legler, Hutchins, and others, and the social uplift of Lighty into a powerful organization.

In his first report, dated 1908, Dean Reber described the organization he had built "for convenience, expedition, and efficiency."[17] The work of the Division had been divided into four departments: correspondence study, debating and public discussion, instruction by lectures, and general information and welfare. The first two departments had been organized by Lighty and Hutchins before Reber arrived. The latter two blossomed quickly. By 1914 the Division performed "a bewildering variety of functions."[18]

Correspondence Study. Lighty had begun in 1906 what Van Hise called "wheedling out of the faculty members the commitments" for correspondence study courses. By 1908, 35 departments of the University had prepared over 200 courses and there were 1200 registrations in them. The courses were divided into five general classifications: regular university work, special advanced work, high school and preparatory work, elementary school branches, and special vocational branches. The initial boom came in the last category, over half of the students.

By 1914 there were 29 subject-matter departments within correspondence study with 31 full-time and 16 part-time instructors, plus occasional assistance from 18 members of the resident faculty. Some 300 courses were offered, and registrations for the year totalled 5,375.

Debating and Public Instruction. The department of debating and public instruction was the darling of the reformers. Its objective was to arouse and stimulate among all classes of people an intelligent and active interest in important social and political questions. The department collected and maintained a lending library of books and periodicals on "the living issues of the day." During the year 1912-13, 2,829 "package libraries" were lent, on 1,030 different subjects, to 347 different localities. The packages averaged about 40 items apiece. By 1914 the department had a staff of eight.

The packets and bulletins developed by the Division concerned themselves with subjects at the growing edge of economic and social thought, stimulated

public awareness, and led to group action. What were once more or less radical discussion topics are today accepted as part of the Wisconsin pattern: Postal Savings Banks, Proportional Representation, The Recall, Eradication of Tuberculosis, Commission Plan of City Government, Popular Election of United States Senators, Guaranty of Bank Deposits, Income Tax, Inheritance Tax, Consolidation of Rural Schools.

Lectures. The department of instruction by lectures was designed principally to supply speakers and performers for various groups and lecture courses, both informational and entertaining. The oldest form of university extension, under Reber it took on new life. During the 1912-13 year he estimated that some 200,000 people in Wisconsin attended lectures and concerts given under the aegis of the Division. The 209 offerings were made up of two-fifths lectures, two-fifths concerts, and one-fifth "other forms of entertainment." About one-fourth of the contributors were UW faculty members. "Great care" was exercised "to secure only such lectures and entertainments as will give a service of merit both educationally and artistically," and so that small communities could secure programs "formerly not within their reach."

General Information and Welfare. The University of Wisconsin in 1907 recognized that there was a large field of human interests, social in their nature, which were not covered by any other public agency--and it proceeded forthwith to occupy these areas. By 1914 the work involved five special-service bureaus: municipal reference, civic and social center, health instruction, community music, and visual instruction.

The municipal reference bureau served as a source of information for city officials and citizens interested in the solution of municipal problems. It collected data on subjects of municipal government, drafted model ordinances, made special investigations, answered queries, published bulletins, and acted as a clearinghouse in bringing state specialists into cooperation with local officials.

The civic and social center bureau was devoted to developing and improving community life by making the schoolhouse a center where people could meet to discuss their common problems and promote a community conscience. At bureau urging, the Legislature passed a law directing school boards to make provision for the use of schoolhouses as community forums. In 1913 the bureau issued a uniform plan of organization and a season's program of community meetings, which was adopted by 139 communities.

The health instruction bureau passed out information on matters of public and personal health. Traveling exhibits, bulletins, press releases, lectures, correspondence courses, investigations, conferences, campaigns--all the means of influencing public opinion and stimulating public action were drafted into the fight on communicable diseases.

The bureau of community music strove to spread the use of music as "a method of social expression which...has played a great part in social development." Talks, articles, courses, organization formulae, bulletins and pamphlets led to the organization of community choruses.

The bureau of visual instruction collected lantern slides and movie films and loaned them to schools and other organizations, "the aim being to serve the schools and the people as fully and efficiently as possible, together with that very distinct economy that must attend upon and result from a carefully conducted centralized organization."

PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMS

In the history of adult education, no event had "more critical importance," says James Creese, than the establishment of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.[19] Simply to list the Division's departments and bureaus gives no real hint why this should be so. The Wisconsin Extension Division assumed and held leadership in adult education because of its mastery of three public relations procedures. First, it developed and utilized a keen awareness of public needs. Second, it adopted and invented dramatic means of crystalizing public opinion and mobilizing public action. Third, when public needs were met either by Extension or by new agencies entering the picture, the Division did not spin its wheels in old ruts but steered over into open lanes.

Apprentice Training. When they combined lobbying forces to pass Extension's first appropriation in 1907, McCarthy and the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association had in mind primarily the projection of the University into industrial education. Reber responded by focussing Division attention first on elementary shop courses via correspondence study and itinerant instructors. Manufacturers provided classroom space and gave workers time off with pay to attend classes. In 1912 the second floor of the Milwaukee City Hall was turned over to Extension. The work being done by the Division delighted employers, but it seemed but a drop in the bucket

to McCarthy. By 1911 he had steered through the Legislature an act providing for state supervision of apprenticeships, a limited work week for 14-to-16 year olds, a compulsory part-time school attendance law for them, and industrial, commercial, continuation, and evening schools in towns and cities with populations over 5,000. Van Hise and Reber had helped draft the act, and Reber became a member of the resulting State Board of Industrial Education. The Division inaugurated a teacher-training program and prepared textbooks for the new schools. That done, it slowly bowed out of vocational training at the apprentice level.

The Expert in Government. With the University present in the city, Milwaukee asked UW Professor John R. Commons to make a municipal survey and to prepare a municipal system of cost accounting. Three UW deans tackled the solution of municipal health and sanitation problems. Extension's E.J. Ward and H.H. Jacobs promoted city parks and social centers.

But Milwaukee's problems were more numerous than the University's supply of volunteer experts. The result was the burgeoning of a Milwaukee Institute of Municipal and Social Service, which had been started in 1910 and which gradually took over advising, course, and lecture work initiated by Extension. The Institute faded with the coming of World War I, but its work was continued in the Wisconsin Conference of Charities and Corrections, which was connected with the State Board of Control. The Division meanwhile, swung its Milwaukee activities more into the orbit of University credit offerings.

Lectures and Concerts. Movements in arts and letters which displayed so much vigor in some parts of the country had affected the Wisconsin of 1900 only slightly. In architecture, for example, the state showed little tolerance of her one architectural genius, Frank Lloyd Wright. Hamlin Garland's interests were rapidly shifting away from Wisconsin. John Muir, the gifted naturalist, and Ella Wheeler Wilcox, sentimental versifier, no longer maintained any connections with the state in which they had grown up. Edna Ferber and Zona Gale had not yet come to flower, much less August Derleth. Into this cultural desert moved the Extension's J.J. Pettijohn and his lecture bureau. Janesville (20,000) and Prentice (90) could contract with him for Professor Arthur Beatty lecturing on "The Contemporary English Novel," Professor William H. Kiekhofer speaking on "Government by Public Opinion," President Silas Evans of Ripon College talking about "Jesus and Social Reform," Dr. William Sadler in "The Cause and Cure of Worry,"

Thatcher's Metropolitan Orchestra playing "Melody in F" and the "Blue Danube," or "talking" dogs.

In the day before radio, the movies, and automobile travel, the bureau performed what was called "a great job." As other media of information and entertainment came to the Wisconsin hinterlands, the bureau switched more exclusively to supplying grade and high schools with economical "assembly" programs.

Health Education. In a day of Christmas seals, dime marches, and red feathers, it is somewhat hard to picture an era in which the public conscience had not yet mobilized in the war on disease. Yet the America of 1900 was such an era, and in its efforts to improve the health of Wisconsin's citizens, the Extension Division found new avenues of University service.

The fight for prevention of tuberculosis in Wisconsin was spearheaded by UW Bacteriology Professor Bernie Frost. Shortly, the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association was organized. Its secretary, Dr. Hoyt Dearholt, became head of Extension's health education bureau, and he operated the two organizations from the same office.

Correspondence courses were provided for the Association's apprentice school for public health workers. Other services included a correspondence course, "Bacteriology and Hygiene"; a pure milk exhibit; courses for public health nurses; bulletins on industrial accident prevention; newspaper health columns; charts for schools on the symptoms of communicable diseases; correspondence courses and package libraries for expectant mothers; Better Baby Weeks; home nursing courses; courses for physical education instructors.

When state bakers requested a "pure food institute" under Extension auspices, Dean Reber was quick to accept the opportunity. When smoke pollution became a city problem, Professors Ben Elliot of Extension Engineering and Andrew Melville of Oshkosh district experimented with several types of coal burned under varying conditions and developed lecture-demonstrations on more efficient and sanitary uses of fuels.

Labor-Management Training. Organized labor, in 1912 as now, was suspicious of an educational program which did not have a labor orientation. The Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association's early attempts at apprentice training had been branded as a "scab" operation; the same critics tended to view Extension efforts as too intellectual. Profiting from these reactions, the Division began to cooperate with the Milwaukee Workers' College.

The work undertaken was of a type immediately applicable to union activity and presaged Wisconsin's full-fledged entry into labor education with its School for Workers in the 1920s.

Nor was the businessman himself neglected. He could take correspondence courses in bookkeeping, accounting, business law, window decorating, and retail advertising. He could attend evening classes or business institutes. He could retain Extension personnel to install cost accounting systems. He could receive "Industrial Relations Service Bulletins" or "Retail Bulletins." Or he could hear an Extension speaker at his chamber of commerce luncheon.

Community Centers. Edward J. Ward began in 1911 to help local communities develop civic, social, and educational centers designed to promote "Neighborhood democracy." He explained his efforts as a "conscious revival and propagation of the old New England Town Meeting." Reber also saw them incidentally as potential vortexes of Extension services, as had become the Settlement House in Milwaukee. With suitable Press Bulletin fanfare, the Division played host to the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development. To the campus from all over the country came luminaries in education and government, including Woodrow Wilson, then governor of New Jersey. Ward helped establish some 45 centers in Wisconsin, three with salaried directors, and some boards hired new principals with the understanding that center work was to be a part of their duties.

Welfare Work. In 1912 John L. Gillin came to Madison from the University of Iowa. At the time, Extension was filling a temporary gap in the state welfare system through Lighty's secretaryship of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections. Welfare work was unorganized around any definite principle and undirected by any central body. Gillin took over the State Conference and performed yeoman coordinating work until 1920, when the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work was created as a state agency with a budget of its own. With this function in other hands, Reber abandoned his Welfare Department as such and placed its remaining activities in a newly consolidated department, that of Group and Community Service.

Recreation. "Play as education" became the theme of Edgar B. Gordon's music and drama promotion before Parent-Teachers Associations and similar groups. In 1913 the Legislature authorized cities, towns, and villages to give local band concerts under the supervision of the park commissioners. When the music teacher became commonplace in public schools, Extension's job had been done.

Community Institutes. How to integrate its information and welfare work? How to present community aids in concentrated form with special reference to local problems? How to make the problems of town and country one common concern? The Division found answers to these questions in Community Institutes. Farmers were attracted with lectures on alfalfa and silo building. Businessmen were told about "the new conditions of distribution" which required sales people able to employ "personality and psychology."

In 1916 the Division sponsored the state's First Commercial and Industrial Congress. The discussion revolved around coordinating state economic interests and activities, and the means whereby cities could attract new industries. This has continued to the present time to be a fertile field of Extension activity.

The Community Institutes themselves were spiked by Dean Russell of the College of Agriculture who complained to the Regents that Reber was invading the domain of agricultural extension. The Regents directed the Extension Division to limit the subjects considered at its institutes to "municipal activities" and reserved to Agriculture the problems of "agriculture and rural life." It was neither the first nor the last time that campus politics rendered less effective the outreach of the Extension Division.

War Work. World War I found the Extension Division ready to buttress Washington's home-front campaigns. Correspondence study liaison with Army and Navy YMCAs had been in effect since 1910. Special courses were written for sailors at Great Lakes Naval Station. Department of welfare institutes prepared citizens for home defense and civilian relief. In cooperation with the Red Cross, nursing courses were offered. Post-graduate medical training became a part of Extension's curriculum. From Extension's presses came bulletins on food conservation, women in industry, and fuel conservation. A package library on "Causes of the Great War" made its contribution to anti-German propaganda. Reber himself went off to France to take charge of the Engineering College in the AEF University. In short, simply by being itself, the Division was an arsenal of democracy the likes of which had never been seen before.

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUES

A public need is one thing: a public demand is another. This truism Wisconsin's Extension Division came early to appreciate, and the techniques it developed to convert needs into demands made the difference between failure

and success. Some techniques in communications Extension borrowed lock, stock, and barrel from business; some it adapted from conventional education methods; others it invented. Grudgingly at first, and then more freely, the whole University came to recognize that the responsibility to inform the public is concomitant with a trusteeship of public funds.

Field Men. Wisconsin introduced to university extension the concept of the on-the-spot field representative, a concept which was to reach its zenith in the proliferation of county agricultural agents across the country. Reber divided the state into six districts, in each of which was a resident "district representative." The work of these field men accounted in considerable measure for the rapid flourishing of Extension in Wisconsin.

To Reber, the field man was frankly a "solicitor." "Experience leads to the conclusion," he said, "that it is quite as necessary for the University to explain its extension service directly to the people as it is for a commercial school to send out solicitors. This is not only because cold print seldom carries the conviction of a face-to-face interview but because an agent on the ground may study the people" and know their needs and capacities.[20]

But the field man was to be more than a salesman: "Living among the people of his district..., it is his duty to know them in all their relations" and to transmit their civic, social, and industrial impulses back to the campus.[21]

How the system worked has been described by one of the field men in a federal bulletin:

"We have mapped out a very definite circuit or itinerary plan that provides for regular visits...to practically every town with a population of 200 and upward...The schools, the homes, the stores, business offices, shops, and manufacturing establishments...receive attention...But it is not (the field man's) first...purpose to register correspondence students. It is rather to engage strong, earnest, enlightened cooperation....Through this method of personal representation and cooperative organization all forms of useful service are effectively promoted and made more successful in their application.[22]

Traveling Professors. Along with the field organizers, the field district included instructors. This was an important new feature which went beyond the services of the commercial correspondence schools. Because of

the tendency of students to drop courses after completing only a few lessons, these "traveling professors" would meet classes of correspondence students at regular intervals to give assistance. The device was especially used in the industrial education program in Milwaukee. Half a century later, the single itinerant instructor had become a full-fledged Extension Center.

Textbooks. Another notable feature of Division communications was the preparation of textbooks custom-written for correspondence study work. Under a contract with McGraw-Hill, three texts in business and engineering were brought out in 1914. By 1916 a total of 24 texts were on the market, and some 230 schools and colleges had adopted one or more. The royalties to the Division at one time ran around $10,000 a year. As will a text in any form of instruction, the books introduced a certain amount of inflexibility to correspondence work. An early text on "The Gasoline Auto," featuring cut-away drawings of the Maxwell, was still being used in the Division 40 years later. But by and large the texts lent effectiveness, stability, and prestige to correspondence study.

Newspaper Publicity. The Wisconsin Extension Division, as we have seen, was blessed in its early days by having on the same campus a pioneer University News Bureau, whose director gave immediate and sustained support to Extension activities. Indeed, Curti and Carstensen observe that "the publicity obtained by the (Extension) Division in 1907 almost overshadowed the rest of the University."[23] The off-campus nature of Division work projected the University consistently for the first time into the columns of newspapers throughout Wisconsin. These stories not only attracted customers to Extension programs but they gradually led readers to think of the University as a local resource and not simply a set of buildings far away at Madison. Bascom Hill came no longer to be regarded as a necessary environment for serious courses and serious-minded students. Campus professors were not library book-worms; they were men and women who brought practical new ideas directly to Ashland and Walworth. The effect of this transition in public thinking was tremendous in building support for higher education.

Furthermore, the Division used the state press for "extending" educational as well as promotional messages. Regular health, welfare, and business columns were sent out and found fairly wide acceptance.

Publications. The first principle of advertising, whether your commodity is aluminum or education, is to attract attention. The second principle is to arouse interest. There are many legitimate and relatively dignified publications devices for carrying out these purposes, and Wisconsin's Extension Division used most of them. Announcements in the general University catalog, a Division catalog, class and correspondence study announcements and folders, special bureau brochures, form letters, placards, postcards, advertisements, leaflets, reprints, posters, annual reports--these and similar printed material broadcast statewide the message that "if you can't come to the University, the University will come to you."

These were not shotgun appeals. They were carefully rifled at specific targets: "Perhaps you need to advance faster in your employment, to get into a bigger and more interesting line of work, to increase your business, or to improve your ability as a technical planner or worker....You may be one of those whose taste for mathematics or mechanics is only partially satisfied, or who are demanding a more friendly acquaintance with the great worlds of science, literature, history, or philosophy....Your interests in the arts may be the practical interest of a teacher, a writer, a community leader, or a homemaker....Through the study of languages, sociology, psychology, the fine arts, or any one of a hundred different fields, you may be seeking a deeper and higher realization of life and means of interpreting it more clearly to others."[24]

A favorite Extension promotion device was the testimonial letter. Letters were solicited from students whose correspondence study had paid dividends. These were to be sent to Dean Reber's office "in octuplicate" to be forwarded to field men, who would flash them before prospective enrollees.

As early as May, 1906, an Extension bulletin was using phraseology distinctly "modern": "University extension aims...to make education an interest which is life-long."

Place in the Sun. Reber and Lighty were highly conscious of the communications value of a sign on a door. When Lighty arrived on the campus in 1907 he ensconsed himself in Main Hall just down the corridor from the president himself. Then, ignoring faculty rules on the matter, he placed in the window of his office a sign advertising correspondence study. Petty bickering conducted through the president's office led to the removal of the sign. In 1914, after Extension had become crowded into nooks and crannies

throughout the campus, Reber got himself a brand new building to be shared jointly with home economics. In the temporary absence of the home ec dean, he took over the central portion of the building and painted "EXTENSION" in bold gold leaf over the main entrance, leaving the wing and a side door to the home ec professors.

It was partly Reber's feeling for the value of a tangible, physical setting which led him to set up district offices around the state. Later, this sense of "a place in the sun" contributed to Extension's plumping for a building of its own in Milwaukee.

Visiting Firemen. As a means of dramatizing its organization and services, Extension engineered the visits of delegations from other states, and welcomed with open arms the pilgrims who came spontaneously. Thirty people from Georgia, the governor of Arkansas and his party, a group of Cincinnatians, the president of the University of Illinois and his party, newspaper editors, teams of writers, an educational commission from the princely state of Mysore in India, British educators, Russians, Canadians, spies from Minnesota--these and others came, saw, and were conquered. Most spectacular was the Philadelphia "invasion" of 1913, when some 150 wise men from the East followed the Extension star to Madison.

Conventions. Staging conventions was another favorite Extension stunt. In 1908 the Summer School of Ethics of the American Ethical Union, in 1911 the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, in 1916 the First Wisconsin Commercial and Industrial Congress--these and similar assemblages were effective show-windows for Extension's educational and promotional messages. A national conference of extension directors at Madison in 1915 led immediately to the formation of the National University Extension Association, with Reber as its first president. By 1955 NUEA membership included representation from over 70 colleges and universities.

Surveys. The Extension Division and its friends were one of the first agencies to use surveys as means of molding public opinion. In building sentiment for the establishment of the Division and again in arousing support for its expansion, McCarthy and Reber studied, polled, and published. The surveys were not scientific in any sense of the word. They were cleverly constructed arguments with a view to procuring a certain effect.

Friends in Court. While exploiting the mass media to tell their story, the University and the Extension Division did not neglect to cultivate those

people who by virtue of their strategic positions were able to render significant help. During the Progressive era from 1903 to 1915, Charles McCarthy was the horse in the Capitol which the University rode for all it was worth. Fitzpatrick tells of a hearing when University officials were being grilled by a legislator on the subject of how much time the professors worked. Upon learning that some taught only seven hours of classes a week, he was preparing to object, but was cut short by McCarthy, watchdog of University interests:

"Mr. Chairman, you're all wrong in your kind of question. If you are asking the value of a boar pig or a stud horse, you wouldn't ask him how many hours he works; you'd ask what his product is. That's what you ought to ask about University professors."[25]

When the Stalwarts took over in 1915, the University switched horses, relying on men close to Governor Philipp like Alumnus Michael J. Cleary, Dr. Joseph Evans of the Medical School, and Halsten J. Thorkelson, business manager of the University. From the University's point of view, these men did effective goodwill work. Where McCarthy had used his influence to boost Extension appropriations as well as University grants, Dr. Evans used his position to push the construction of the Wisconsin General Hospital.

Statements. But Van Hise and Reber did not simply allow friends in court to present the University's point of view. Both of them astutely used every public occasion to proclaim policies and pin attackers to the wall.

Were newspaper editors unfamiliar with Extension concepts? Then Van Hise would address the Wisconsin Press Association and say "I shall never be content until the beneficent influence of the University reaches every family in the state. This is my ideal of a state university." Was the University in danger of political control? Then Van Hise would use a talk before a group of visiting educators to say, "If a democracy cannot maintain a university which will not yield to the spirit of the times, it will be the most serious charge that has ever been made against a democracy." Did the University need alumni support? Then Van Hise would close a commencement address with this appeal: "The University looks to its alumni to protect it in maintaining the high ground it now occupies, and in giving the support which enables it to rise to an even higher level." Were resident professors still reluctant to accept Extension as a bona fide University function? Then Reber would tell the American Academy of Political and Social Science: "Is it not a very uncharacteristic view of the field of the university which seems

to limit its functions to those of a sealed storehouse, with facilities for giving out its invaluable contents only to the few who may be able to learn the cabalistic passes that unlock its doors?"

Throughout the years of its flowering, Extension's friends repeatedly practiced their dictum that the University must "speak out," clearly and courageously.

Integrated Efforts. An extension director views his task through a telescope, and which end he looks through makes a big difference. If he looks at his state through a campus prism, his extension program may be marked by that departmentalized approach to knowledge which characterizes university organization. But if he looks at the university through a community glass, his extension program can be expected to take on a certain unity. Reber was well aware that his loose-jointed Division needed definite communications devices in order to bring its wide-ranging resources and services into focus at the community level. One device was a Committee to Avoid Duplication of Effort. A more effective technique was the community institute. As he described it:

"All of (the Extension Division) bureaus have been combined in the presentation of truth upon one or two topics in what are called community institutes....These are three or four day meetings at high pressure to bring to a focus the community consciousness upon its most pressing problems. The endeavor is to fit the program for this institute to two or three of the most pressing problems of a community, and produce such a vivid impression that permanent results may be seen in the community itself taking up active measures for the solution of its problems under the inspiration and suggestion of experts furnished by the Extension Division."[26]

Into and out of these institutes grew a series of Division publications and proceedings fitting such catholic tasts as "Annexation of Cuba" and "Tuberculosis or Consumption."

Propaganda. During World War I the idea that the whole nation--spiritually, physically, industrially--was on the firing line was thoroughly driven home. The means of enforcing this idea--the propaganda to win the war--was not the invention of George Creel and his Committee on Public Information. It was actually a wholesale adoption of educational extension methods evolved between 1907 and 1917 by the University of Wisconsin and other institutions. All the instruments and devices laboriously created or appropriated by Reber

and his colleagues were utilized to mobilize public opinion and to teach soldiers, sailors, and workers. Reber personally supervised the special training schools set up by the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVIDENDS

What was the net result of Wisconsin's pioneer excursion into public relations through public service? Was it only to evolve war propaganda techniques? Measuring the progress and the effectiveness of a university and its projects is not a simple thing to do. There are no butterfat standards or soils tests that apply to educational institutions and PR programs. There are, however, some indirect ways of measuring a university enterprise which are not without value.

What People Said. One way to get a fix on PR results is through what other people say about you. Let's look at the record:

In 1908 President Eliot of Harvard called Wisconsin "the leading state university." The next year the General Education Board said "the University of Wisconsin is at the top," and Lincoln Steffens wrote to Van Hise that "when you stop work to look beyond your own state you must find no little personal satisfaction in the thought that you are leading not only your neighbors but the whole round world." Later came Theodore Roosevelt's statement that "in no other state in the Union has any university done the same work for the community that has been done in Wisconsin by the University of Wisconsin." State newspapers carried these and other tributes, and added still others of their own. Van Hise would have been the first to associate the leadership of the University and its wide recognition with the extension policies in which it had been a pioneer.

William D. Hoard, former governor and farm leader who was often caustic in his remarks about the University, came to see that "the investment of funds in the University will be one which will be returned to the state many fold." Even Harvard caught the drift of sentiment, and President Lowell told his faculty: "We must learn to do those things which others are doing. The institutions about us today which are doing the most good in the way of helping their respective communities are the great state universities of the Middle West. A college, to be of any great value, must grow out of the community in which it lives, and must be in absolute touch with that community, doing all the good it can, and doing what the community needs. Any institution not in close touch with the community around it is bound to wither and die."[27]

Perhaps, in formulating this public relations point of view, President Lowell had been reading Frederic C. Howe: "Wisconsin is an experiment station in politics, in social and industrial legislation, in the democratization of science and higher education."[28] Had not Theodore Roosevelt said that "all through the Union we need to learn the Wisconsin lesson"?[29]

The lesson was learned. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, Wisconsin Extension was certainly flattered. In 1907 Wisconsin and Chicago were virtually alone in the field. By 1915 some 30 universities had organized extension divisions and 25 agricultural colleges were actively engaged in extension work. Wisconsin's organizational pattern "served...generally as a guide to administrative practice," and this helped to account for the "great influence" which Wisconsin exerted upon other institutions.[30]

In 1918 a Federal Division of Educational Extension was set up in the Bureau of Education of the Department of Interior; Wisconsin's William H. Dudley became its visual aids advisor. When the Division's funds lapsed in 1919, the National University Extension Association opened an office in Washington and hired an executive secretary.

What People Did. These comments and copying are one way to measure how things were going. But much as they appreciated these kind words, Van Hise and Reber were always more concerned with what people did about the University. Here,too, there are no exact means of measuring university strides, but there are "straws in the wind" which indicate which way the breeze was blowing. Let's look at the record again:

In 1903 University enrollment was 2,426. By 1918 it had nearly doubled. In 1903 the University staff numbered 174. By 1918 it was up to 449. In 1903 the University's gross income was $750,000. By 1918 the budget had mushroomed to $3,500,000. State appropriations for operations alone rose from $325,000 to $1,800,000 a year. Between 1903 and 1918 over $3,000,000 in state appropriations produced a construction splurge that saw 50 new buildings dot the campus. Extension appropriations themselves mounted from the original $20,000 in 1907 to $200,000 in 1915.

This growth in students, staff, and finances can only be interpreted as an expression of developing confidence on the part of the citizens of the state in their University, a confidence born of conviction that the University was of, by, and for the people.

The money bought and held a faculty distinguished in every sense of the word and provided for the multiplication on the undergraduate level of such specialized programs as chemistry, journalism, the industrial arts, library training, music, and education. President Adams had called money "the final factor" which determines educational results. The Extension Division played a key role in collecting that final factor.

And it collected students of its own. Correspondence study registrations passed 100,000 before Reber retired. Half of the enrollees completed their courses. Many found the instruction "superior." Michigan Central Normal accepted the transfer of credits as early as 1911. Package library mailings reached 10,000 a year. In a day before TV, their possibilities as creators of public opinion were enormous. Some 700 Wisconsin communities felt some form of Extension service. The University was as close as the mailbox, the telephone or the field man.

Behind these statistics were people. Over 300 different occupations were listed by correspondence registrants. Student No. 1, Paul Neystrom, became a Columbia University professor. Another, K.L. Hatch, became head of agricultural extension at Wisconsin. The dean of men at a state teachers college took a composition course so he could write articles for educational journals. A housewife completed virtually a full two years of undergraduate work. A dentist, an editor, an oil engineer, a policeman, a sailor, laborers at kitchen tables, preachers in their studies, foresters in mountain cabins, mayors in city halls, foremen in plants--the student roster was long and varied, and it all added up to citizens being served and to taxpayers warming to the role of their University.

What People Think. Between 1907 and 1918, there was no word or action which indicated anything but that the University of Wisconsin had reached out to its "patron community" as no university had done before, and that this reaching out attracted attention, interest, and support. From hindsight, is the record that clear?

Howard J. McMurray, after surveying the whole field of University influence on the state, is unwilling to venture a generalization.[31] With similar forebearance, Curti and Carstensen say that "very little can be said about (University service for the state government) except that members of the faculty did serve on various boards and commissions, with and without compensation, usually in the capacity of technical experts. This is not to say

that the work was not important, or well done, or even significant, but merely that it is impossible to measure precisely what the result was."[32] (La Follette himself was not so reluctant to pass judgment. He said "the state has greatly profited" by the relationship: "In no state of the Union are the relationship between the University and the people of the state so intimate and so mutually helpful as in Wisconsin."[33])

However averse historians and educationists may be to assess University Extension, the contemporaries of Van Hise and Reber were not.[34] Price said Reber's name "will stand high on the roll of illustrious men who have made significant contributions to the cause of popular education." Allen says "much of what Wisconsin has accomplished. . . .was due to (Reber's) vision, his courage, and his practical planning." Gordon looks upon "my years in Extension as being the most provocative and stimulating of my career." McGovern said Extension established the University "as a permanent institution (which) the people of Wisconsin will not willingly let die." Frost concluded that Extension had "opened the sluice gates of the University's storehouse of knowledge and inspiration until thousands upon thousands of Wisconsin's citizens, great and small, were being refreshed and broadened."

In more practical terms, certainly it is reasonable to conclude that only a university with a sound public relations philosophy would rate such a tribute as this from the Moseley Education Commission:

"This university is strong in numbers. It is democracy, where merit alone counts, its standing in scholarship is of the highest; its degrees are as broad and inclusive as the universe....It is not circumscribed and hampered by a conservative, classic curriculum, nor is it intimidated by its benefactors....It is the wholesome product of a commonwealth of three millions of people; sane, democratic, industrial, and progressive; with ideals, and unafraid of ideas. It responds to every need of humanity; it knits together the professions and labor; it makes the fine arts and the anvil one."[35]

PUBLIC RELATIONS LESSONS

William H. Dudley called Van Hise and Reber "the Paul and Appollos of Extension. Van Hise planted and Reber watered."[36] These two men indeed did seem to base their strategy on that of one of the greatest "extensionists" of all time, as recorded in The Acts:

1. "And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away;" Reber's workers were well organized, knew their jobs, and were devoted to the cause. Public relations requires trained specialists and clear cut organization.

2. "They....departed unto Seleucia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus:" Reber's workers were not rooted to Madison. They got around. In public relations there is no substitute for doorbell ringing. A project which never gets down to the business of reaching constituents in the by-ways of the community will never get off the ground.

3. Paul's listeners demanded "signs;" he gave them "special miracles:" A university must provide practical examples of its worthiness. Van Hise and Reber were always there with facts and statistics to demonstrate the efficiency and effectiveness of University work.

4. When Paul was arguing in the synagogues, he spoke in terms of the fulfillment of the "promise which was made unto the fathers;" when he was addressing the men of Athens he spoke of the Godhead whose dwelling was not "in temples made with hands;" Public relations personnel always have to talk the language of their constituents. Reber had one program for business, another for school-teachers.

5. Paul preached to all who would hear, turning even "to the Gentiles:" A college constituency is not an exclusive fraternity, and public relations projects must be broadly based and broadly aimed. University support does not require a secret password. A snob angle puts "a yoke upon the neck" of Extension workers.

6. "The contention was so sharp" between Paul and John that "they departed asunder," but the work went on: Teamwork is the essence of successful public relations. Disputes and jealousies there were between Reber and Lighty, but they were largely submerged in the total task.

7. Paul answered the call to "come over into Macedonia:" Van Hise and Reber neglected no areas or groups. No one public can carry the whole load of educational support. Balanced public relations is the thing.

8. "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither:" Van Hise and Reber had their rebuffs; universities and what they stand for are not universally popular. But Van Hise and Reber either frustrated or ignored their opponents. The ancient injunction is still effective: "And whosoever shall not receive you nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust under your feet for a testimony against them."

9. "I must by all means keep this feast:" Paul never forgot the well-spring of his faith; in the midst of his work he went back to Jerusalem. Van Hise and Reber likewise knew the end does not justify the means. To be worthy of a university, a public relations program must be pitched to the highest standards, lest it do more harm than good.

10. Paul "went all over the country, strengthening all." Van Hise and Reber were tireless in their quest of citizens to whom the University could be of service. A public relations program must be continuous and repetitious. The "flash-in-the-pan" campaign may appear to have some success, but it won't produce the sustained interest and support which higher education needs. The soil has to be plowed and harrowed and then cultivated again and again.

With such methods, Paul and his colleagues took a regional faith and made it a world-wide religion. Van Hise and Reber took a conventional campus and broadened its boundaries to encompass an entire state. Perhaps both missionary teams may be said to have fulfilled an even older prophecy by Daniel: "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

THE UPSHOT

As Richard J. Storr has so cogently pointed out, Van Hise-Reber extension must not be confused with simple response to demand. The University of Wisconsin was remarkably sensitive to the felt needs of its constituency, but programming did not wait passively upon requests for service.[37] Van Hise himself expressed his "salesmanship" this way:

"The crux of the matter is that it is our aim to take out the knowledge, whether the people ask for it or not. It strikes me that in education we ought at least to be as careful in Wisconsin as are the brewing interests in the state,and therefore we are not going to wait for the people to come to us; we are going to take our goods to them. We are going out to the poeple."[38]

Thus, says Storr, the University became in effect the residuary legatee of the educational problems of the state. Its range of vision covered Wisconsin, which became itself a kind of university campus, to the immeasurable benefit of both public and professor. This type of University was not unknown before 1900, but thereafter it became the pattern for American educators with a PR sense.

IV

LESSONS

If public relations were a train which, once boarded, carried an institution onward with nary an oxbow or halt, presidents and board chairmen might simply sit in the observation car and enjoy the passing scenery. The facts of life are, however, that a public relations program, no matter how well conceived and executed, is by no means immune from acts of man and nature which alter its course and speed. It was so with the Wisconsin Extension Division.

The American university, said George Edgar Vincent at the time, emerged from World War I with "a new sense of confidence and of social obligation."[1]

This may have been true generally, but it did not apply to the University of Wisconsin and its Extension Division.

CLIMATIC CHANGES

James Creese has arrived at three factors which are "essential for a full-powered, imaginatively run extension division." They are:

1. "An informed interest by the chief administrative office of the University."

2. "A constant contact between that office and the office of the director of extension."

3. "A similar direct and consistent line of organization from the extension office to each of the main departments or professional schools of the university."[2]

All three of these factors were present in the period of Wisconsin Extension's organization and flourishing. Between 1918 and 1945, one or more were absent. The first to disappear was No. 1, when Charles R. Van Hise died unexpectedly within a week of the Armistice.

It perhaps is taking undue liberties with history to peg a decided change in University Extension to the death of Van Hise. Extension workers at the time possibly did not detect any sudden break in step. There were other factors at work to produce gradual changes in emphasis and tempo. In terms of University-state rapport, there had been a decided deterioration as early as 1915, which came to full flower in the early 1920s. Yet certainly the removal of a leader as dynamic as Van Hise is a convenient if not wholly accurate development to which to ascribe shifts in the public relations scene in Wisconsin.

Exit Van Hise. Van Hise had built boldly and well with the materials at hand on foundations already laid. For giving publicity to, fighting for and implementing the idea of public relations through public service, higher education is deeply indebted to him. It is not easy, say Curti and Carstensen, to exaggerate the enthusiasm which Van Hise kindled among students, faculty, and people at large. His warmth and imagination, his devotion to the University and the state, his capacity to learn, and his remarkable statesmanship "all add up to greatness." His belief in Extension, his capacity to make others share his belief, and his record in creating and leading an organization which justified that belief were "unparalleled in the annals of American higher education."[3]

President Van Hise never faltered in his supreme confidence that the people would give the University what it wanted if the University gave the people what they wanted. He spared no personal effort to enlighten the public regarding the contributions of the University to the common welfare, and he pulled no punches in defending the institution. In reply to the father of two University students, Van Hise wielded a meataxe: "The misrepresentations regarding the University are largely due to the inaccurate, misleading, and frequently false statements made by the state superintendent which he has widely disseminated through letters sent at public expense to all parts of the state."[4] On other occasions he could be the soul of diplomacy.

As William Ellery Leonard wrote, Van Hise "built with faithful hand

"New roads from hills of thought to humble hearts,

"Highways to shop and farm and inland beach."

You could not take suddenly this greatness of spirit and action from the campus without the resulting void having its effects on the University's adult education program. Particularly when Van Hise's successor was E. A. Birge.

Enter Birge. Birge--zoology professor, dean of the College of Letters and Science, and the man who had said that extension work was definitely an academic sideline--came to the presidency of the University at a crucial time in the history of the institution, but he did not rise to the occasion. A personal preference for the laboratory led him to hope his tenure would be short. He did not wish to saddle his successor with plans, much less with programs or appointments. Reber wanted to retire in 1923, but Birge

urged him to stay on until a new president was selected. Birge's spartan tastes did not lead him to push as vigorously as his predecessor for liberal support for the University. He paid lip service to the concepts of public service, but his basic philosophy led him to believe "the main purpose of higher education" is to produce in students "a certain temper of mind" and in faculty members "a certain way of looking at things."

In his attitude toward the press and the uses of publicity and in his personal dealings with the public President Birge differed markedly from Van Hise. Birge was indifferent to the uses of a friendly relation with newspapers and suspicious that news reports would only provoke hostile editorials. He checked personally many of the items sent out by the University News Bureau and occasionally made corrections with acid vehemence. Where Van Hise had assembled press conferences, Birge typically refused to be quoted.

When stories of student dissipation made the newspapers, Birge was disinclined to issue denials or statements of fact because he said "the press agencies refuse to distribute them." The best you can do, he believed, was simply endure "with a patient shrug." When stories about mass examination casualties appeared, Professor Grant Hyde suggested release of statistics to show that the number of UW flunk-outs was not abnormal. Birge refused on the grounds that it was much better to "scare the daylights out of the freshmen."

This policy of covering up did not go unnoticed by the press. Early in Birge's administration the Capital Times added another to its growing list of complaints about the University: "We believe that the whole method of publicity pursued at the University is wrong. Nothing can ever be gained for the University by seeking to cover up and distort the real facts. The University will gain in the long run by being absolutely frank and open with both the newspapers and the people of the state. This is a people's university and the people are entitled to the fullest knowledge concerning what happens at the University. If the University authorities expect to receive fair treatment from the newspapers, the University authorities must be equally fair in giving the newspapers the real facts."[5]

Such complaints fell on deaf ears in Bascom Hall. Where Van Hise had welcomed questions, put in person or by mail, Birge ducked them. To a young instructor at the University of Michigan who was collecting information on

"the modern American university as a social organization," Birge wrote that while he never found pleasure in any questionnaires, "I am bound to say that yours seems to be a peculiarly obnoxious one." To another information seeker he said he was "not the kind of cucumber" who responded to queries and congratulated the writer on "a new form" of questionnaire which added "a new terror to human life--at least so far as human life is shared by college presidents." To the secretary-treasurer of the Association of Urban Universities he refused to pay UW dues. This time he got a pointed reply: "I am writing....not in order to persuade you to have your institution represented in our Association, but rather to convince....a man in your position to regard an institution like the University of Wisconsin as a great public university, rather than a private rural college in a small town."[6]

In one regard Birge did display a sense of public relations. To control visiting lecturers invited by student organizations to speak before the student body, Birge came up with the doctrine that University platforms were "affected with a public interest," and proposed to use his "best judgment" as to who should speak and who should not speak. As it turned out, however, the president's best was widely questioned. Liberals complained bitterly when Birge closed the campus to Upton Sinclair, and conservatives belabored the Regents about E.A. Ross's "decided Pro-Red opinions." It was all part of the tangled skein of political conflict and war-born antagonisms within which the University had to operate in the years immediately after 1918.

Turmoil. The Legislature of 1913 was the last until the Legislature of 1925 to deal generously with the University. Why this was so is not a simple story, but it can be simplified in this way:

Prior to 1913, the Progressives were in power in Wisconsin, and they recognized in the University a partner in political and social reform. Between 1914 and 1920 the Stalwarts held sway, and they tended to view the University's excursions in public service as excursions in Progressive partisanship. The University attempted to reach an understanding with the Stalwarts and did so to some extent, but this merely convinced the Progressives that their University was a turncoat. When the Progressives returned to the Capitol in the '20's, they were slow in taking the University once again to their bosoms.

To retrace the era in more detail:

The 10 years between 1903 and 1913, during which the two ends of State Street were as one, were full of developments which Stalwarts could interpret

as meaning only that the University was the tool of the Progressives. Professor Gilmore's report on water power, threatening as it seemed the plans of private utility interests; the roles of Van Hise, Birge, and a score of professors on the various commissions of the state; and the enthusiasm the liberals expressed for the University's leadership as a public service institution--all these pointed, in the minds of the Stalwarts, to dangerous partisanship. So long as the Stalwarts were on the outside looking in, generous University appropriations were forthcoming, but when the Stalwarts took over, the going got tough. Because of its "socialistic teaching" and its "insatiable demands" for funds, the Stalwarts were bent on whittling the University down to size.

Van Hise's own attempts at compromise only got him in trouble with the Progressives. In September, 1914, he officially requested the faculty to "refrain from using the University platform, either in classroom or otherwise, for discussing any of the questions relating to the war." A liberal Regent hence found it necessary to condemn this infringement on academic freedom. In 1917 Van Hise barred the use of a University platform to Max Eastman. Indignant labor unions deprecated the president's surrender to "the black and evil forces that are striving to suppress free discussion and keep the public mind in ignorance of the predatory character of the dominant class in the existing social order." In 1918 a group of faculty members joined Van Hise in signing a "round robin" letter protesting against the utterances and actions of Senator La Follette "which have given aid and comfort to Germany and her allies in the present war." The letter came to symbolize the break between the University and the Progressives. In 1923 a Progressive Legislature went out of its way to drag out the document and condemn it as "unworthy of men employed in Wisconsin's greatest educational institution."

The turmoil of the times was not all political in its origin. The University's public relations slip began to show in its relations with the high schools and normal schools of the state. Since the 1890's the University had inspected high schools for accrediting purposes. As the responsbilities of the high school multiplied beyond that of merely preparing young people for college, University standards seemed to check the natural growth of the high school curriculum. Yet University authorities were reluctant to bow out of the picture. The resulting fight against University inspection lasted

until 1931, when the function was taken over by the office of the state superintendent of public instruction. Whatever may be said for the University's hand in maintaining the quality of high school teaching in Wisconsin, the relationship came to produce more heat than light.

Likewise, the University consistently opposed the development of the state's normal schools as degree-granting colleges. Between 1909 and 1913 Van Hise and his supporters helped kill repeated bills providing for normal school expansion. They based their views on "the highest educational interests" of the state, but the net effect was effectively to block friendly cooperation with the normals and their friends.

As Curti and Carstensen observe, it is at least an open question whether the "highest educational interests" of the state were served by opposing the development of the teachers colleges into regional colleges, or "whether these interests might not have been better served if, instead of fighting the advance of the normal schools, University officials had encouraged their growth, generously and wisely, and helped them toward educational respectability and usefulness."[7] Certainly to do so would have won friends sorely needed.

The University made needless enemies, too, in opposing Governor Philipp's plan to integrate all state institutions of higher education under a central board of control. The governor proposed to unify control of state-supported education as an economy measure and as part of a campaign for a better educational system. Van Hise opposed the central board partly on principle, but mostly because he distrusted Philipp. When he came to realize that Philipp was not inspired by a desire to damage the University, Van Hise regretted his opposition to the central board. But the damage had been done, and the problem of the integration of higher education in Wisconsin lived on to haunt governors and university presidents for many years.

Basic to this political and educational turmoil was a deep-seated disturbance in the fabric of the state itself, engendered largely by the stresses attendant to World War I. The war did not come easily to the people of Wisconsin. A large German population was divided in its sympathies. Followers of La Follette were essentially isolationist in their views. Feelings ran high, washing away much of the "Gemutlichkeit" of earlier years.

(In musty newspaper clippings the scrapbook of the author's father reveals something of this unhappy era. In 1910 the Rev. A. H. Schoenfeld was addressing the Extension Division's community institute in Spring Green on "The Role

of Ethics in Community Life." In 1918 the Congregational parsonage at Dodgeville was daubed with yellow paint because the pastor had a "pro-German" name.)

The University's public relations could not help but be jeopardized by such deep-running fevers. Progressives resented Van Hise's vigorous role in championing a League of Nations. From the opposite corner came charges that the University had not done all it might have to make clear it had no sympathy with La Follette. "Has the University the right kind of patriotic leadership?" the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture asked. A Princeton professor was quoted widely for calling Wisconsin students "a bunch of damned traitors." A whole array of positive achievements could be marshalled to show the essential loyalty of the student body and the patriotism of the faculty, but the headlines left scars nonetheless.

All told, the rapport which had characterized University-state relations in the first 15 years of the 20th century had deteriorated. As Glen Frank later put it, this fact was "as obvious as a street corner lamp post:

"Certain circumstances of the war period over which neither State nor University as such had control made a....slowing down in the development of the University inevitable. And, in addition to this slowing down that was enforced by economic necessity, certain other circumstances, induced and aggravated by the emotional instability, recklessness of judgment, and extravagance of expression that marked the war period everywhere, brought a breach between many people in Wisconsin and their University....A good many people in Wisconsin became convinced that the essential spirit of the University was at variance with their spirit."[8]

Thus often do the best laid PR plans of men go astray.

Unbudgeted Research. One PR plan was not well laid, the plan to make the University a research center as well as a teaching institution and a vehicle for public service. Van Hise followed Chamberlin's lead in insisting that the ability to pursue original investigation should constitute the primary qualification for membership in the Wisconsin faculty, and that the entire University "must develop, expand, strengthen creative work." This productive scholarship was not to be confined to the technical and professional department: "It cannot be predicted at what distant nook of knowledge, apparently remote from any practical service, a brilliantly useful stream may spring."[9] Birge agreed. The University was to be preeminently the home of "the pioneer spirit, the love of the new world, of the unbroken trail."[10]

Scientific research is undoubtedly the sine qua non of university work, but in their all-out drive to build a graduate school, Chamberlin, Van Hise, and Birge did not reckon on all the corollary effects.

They were not long in showing up. First was a reported decline in the effectiveness of undergraduate teaching. As early as 1906 the Regents warned that in the election and promotion of staff, "due regard should be given to the teaching ability of the candidate." The same year a legislative committee recommended that research work be encouraged "only so far as that can be done without detriment to the instruction to which students are entitled." And the Wisconsin Alumni Magazine complained that many teachers neglected their classes for research--"self-deceiving dreamers who solace themselves with the idea that they are doing for the world a service by their books, while their class work goes unheeded."[11]

The second result of the emphasis on research was the continuing failure of Extension to tap the services of many residence scholars. Immersed in their laboratories and libraries, the "stars" of the faculty would have little part in stumping the hustings. Birge himself had led the withdrawal from Extension work in 1896. He never went back. The specialized staff which Reber built found increasingly less in common with colleagues on the Hill.

The third result of the emphasis on research was the growing difficulty which the University experienced in explaining its financial needs to the Legislature. Van Hise had waited for a $20,000 appropriation before he launched his Extension Division. His research program, on the other hand, he attempted to "bootleg" out of funds for intruction. Except for money for an agricultural experiment station, the Legislature earmarked no funds for research until 1919, and then only a minor amount. In the meantime, more and more University money went into the personnel and facilities which research requires. Research, the Legislature was told, was the "bonus" which the state got from funds appropriated for teaching. Why Van Hise never faced up to the matter of selling research on its own merits is inexplicable. With his gift of expression and his smooth lobbying practices he could have made the sale easily. His failure to do so established a precedent which continues to this day to compound the University's biennial budget difficulties.

Governor Blaine in 1923 sounded the keynote for repeated attacks on the University's policy of unbudgeted research and the large staff it entailed:

"In the last 20 years the staff (of the University) has increased five and three-tenths times, attendance only three and seven-tenths times. This

means that a part of the staff must have much idle time, or their time is devoted to matters purely private. This condition had led to the serious suggestion that the University is made for the staff rather than for the students and the state....The increase in the staff should have kept step only with the increase in attendance."[12]

An inability satisfactorily to explain its teacher-student ratio widened the gap between University administration and the state government, and led people to question whether they were getting 100 cents on the dollar for their educational money. Extension felt the coolness in the air.

More Budget Problems. Division budget tactics did not help overall University relations. As the job of winning legislative support grew stiffer, the Division developed a "We'll get ours and to hell with the rest of the campus" attitude. Reber and his field men came increasingly to appeal directly to friends in the Legislature over the heads of the president and the Regents. This was not lobbying for the University; this was lobbying for the Extension Division. It may have had its temporary advantages for the Division so long as Division appropriations were separate from the general University fund, but in the long run it warped Division relationships both upstate and on campus and led to the Division budget being incorporated entirely within the University appropriation.

As an Extension professor later described Reber's attitude:

He had an "almost" fierce loyalty to the Extension Division. He was criticized for this because it put him in conflict with the interests of the other colleges, but he saw his job as the Extension Division, and he drove on that with relentless energy and by every means he could employ. He let the president and the Regents worry about the overall picture. He built the Extension Division and often had to fight to do it."

Such tactics failed to take into account the fact that an extension division is never any stronger than its mother university.

As if its increasing inability to win support from the state was not enough, the University turned its back on private gifts and grants. The propriety of the University's accepting gifts from certain sources had been questioned by the elder La Follette. He feared the "increasing control over education by great wealth," warned that academic freedom was "paralyzed by the subsidies, direct and indirect, of the Monopoly System."[14] When the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board offered the University some $740,000 for the Medical School and for John R. Commons' research, the Progressive-dominated Board of Regents said "No." That was in 1925. The

policy stood officially until 1931 and the antipathy it created on the part of educational foundations lingers on. While other extension divisions were drinking at the fountain of philanthropy, the Wisconsin Extension Division wandered in a desert.

A Tired Reber. Within the Extension Division itself, 1918 was not 1908. Reber was on leave to war work for two years. When he got back he was tired and ill, wanted to resign. As acting director, Lighty tried hard but lacked administrative skill.

Loss of Key Personnel. The original Extension staff--dedicated, experienced, hardworking, sometimes brilliant--was going to greener pastures. J. J. Pettijohn went to Indiana as director of Extension. Frank A. Hutchins was dead. Joan L. Gillin joined the residence faculty. So did E. B. Gordon. William H. Ward was gone. Peter W. Dykema went to Columbia University. So did Paul Nystrom. J. H. Ames of the Eau Claire district became president of River Falls State Teachers College. Ralph Starr Butler rose to the executive suite in General Foods. Paul F. Voelker was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan. Frederick R. Hamilton of the Wausau office became director of extension for the University of Kansas. Earl B. Norris became dean of the college of engineering at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Andrew H. Melville went from the Oshkosh district to a professorship at Penn State. Some of the old retainers--like Chester Allen, Harriette Holt, Leila Bascom, and Ben Elliott--remained, but in general those who joined them were not up to Reber's original par.

News Bureau Switches. A development largely circumstantial altered the Division's press relations. W. G. Bleyer was an Extension fan and had been more than generous with space for the Division in his University Press Bulletin. When Bleyer left the Press Bureau to devote full time to his budding department of journalism, the Bureau itself was put under the Division's wing. Thus, prior to 1915, the Division had not felt it necessary to develop an integral publicity staff. In 1915, when Grant M. Hyde inherited the Press Bureau, he argued--quite correctly--that as an all-University agency it should be directly under the president. Hyde not only took the Bureau out of the Division; he took the Division out of the Bulletin. Schooled at Yale and trained on Popular Science Monthly, Hyde had no innate feeling for the type of educational service represented by Extension. On the other hand he was anxious to popularize science and scientists. His success in this regard

was striking, but the Division had lost a strategic friend. And it was very slow to build a publicity staff of its own.

Meanwhile the College of Agriculture was going to town. Following the Russell pattern, within a new department of agricultural journalism were combined the functions of undergraduate teaching, communications research, and extension editing. This three-legged base gave the department complete control of the terrain no matter from which direction an attack might come, and it lent to ag publicity efforts a solid connection with both productive scholarship and residence instruction. Under Prof. Andrew W. Hopkins, a succession of outstanding young men made Wisconsin a leader in farm public relations. Not until the 1950's did General Extension pick up the cadence.

Competition. In the fields to be tilled, 1918 was not 1908 either. There were now many other plows and harrows besides the Extension Division, and there was no cop on the corner to direct traffic. Normal schools and private colleges within the state had developed varieties of extension. Northwestern, Chicago, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Michigan Universities were no respecters of state fences. Commercial correspondence schools and lyceum agencies sent in flocks of salesmen,despite the "scarecrow" warnings about gyp diplomas and holdup artists which the Division issued annually. The vocational schools had carved off a big piece on Extension's back forty. Other state welfare agencies invaded Extension's front yard. High schools blossomed out more and more as community centers. Libraries broadened their services. The federal government was beginning to take on some of its modern characteristics as an educational agency. By 1918 the government's educational activities involved the annual expenditure of more than 30 million dollars, carried on in some 20 bureaus, commissions, and departments. Next door to General Extension. Wisconsin's Agricultural Extension Service was developing its version of the national agency which reaches more people more effectively than any other in the field of adult education.

Apart from this overt competition, the Division in the early '20's ran for the first time into covert competition from the mass media. Flossy general magazines, bulging Sunday newspapers, the movies, and then radio--these were the purveyors of the new "educament," education sugar-coated as entertainment, or vice-versa, depending on your point of view. The educament media took a big play away from the more formal types of educational extension. Only to a limited extent did the Division adopt for its own use these educa-

ment channels. (You could detect already at Wisconsin the attitude. "What was good enough for Van Hise is good enough for me.")

In short, as S. P. Capen wrote in School and Society in 1919, education was becoming a curiously pervasive commodity: "Analysis always proves it to be a part of nearly every large undertaking. It bobs up in everybody's bailiwick."

Nor was competition limited merely to competition for customers. It included competition for tax dollars. From 1913 on, the proportion of state taxes given to the University decreased. In 1910 the average citizen of Wisconsin contributed to the support of his University five cents out of every dollar of his tax money. In 1920 he paid two and seven-tenths cents. This decrease was partly the result of less generous support of the University by the state and partly the result of the many new and increasingly expensive activities which the state had launched. The new state boards and commissions, the state-supported highway construction program, and the slowly growing state aids for public schools all demanded increasing amounts of money. Indeed, less than 35 years after the state highway-building program was launched, more money was being devoted annually for highway construction and maintenance than had been given to the University for buildings and land during the 90-odd years of its existence.

In the face of this double-barreled competition, the Extension Division came increasingly to see its role less as pioneering in broad new areas of adult education and more as filling in the interstices in the state's educational program.

Gobbledegook. "One of the great barriers to a clear and precise interpretation of what the schools are doing is the language problem....Too many educators have evolved a new language which is spoken and written only by them and understood by nobody else."[15] A newspaperman discovered that in 1954. The seeds of the development were planted in the '20's. Extension was becoming less a movement and more a cult, and like all cults it was learning to speak in a spurious jargon of objectivity imposed upon itself as a mark of scientific respectability.

Reber had been content to describe the aim and content of Extension in terms of practical service to practical people. He freely related the correspondence course taken one day to a pay raise the next. Whatever this approach may have lacked in terms of educational philosophy, it at least had the merit of being completely intelligible to the lay public, even if it tended some-

what to render the term "extension" as anathema to the predecessors of Robert M. Hutchins.

When the term "adult education" was introduced in the '20's and the educational philosophers took over the job of explaining the whys and wherefores of this "new" movement, their pronouncements sounded something like this:

"Adult education must work for the release and development of spiritual powers in individual and community. These powers will include: feeling for the group, for one's own kin; longing for action, for mastery of things, for creation and control; sense of justice and fair play; desire for beauty, romance, adventure, freedom; integrity and inviolability of the human spirit; longing for knowledge as a means of understanding and illumination of the meanings of life."[16]

This sounded wonderful to the academicians but it left John Doe way behind. And it was only the beginning. When the "group dynamics" boys got rolling later, their "buzz sessions," "role playings," and similar technical terms filled the air and the textbooks and lent to Extension thoroughly scholarly trappings. But this gobbledegook made even more difficult the difficult job of interpreting higher education to the public and of selling Extension services.

A Nation at Odds and Ends. Even if times had not changed in Wisconsin, University Extension events between 1918 and 1925 were to be played out against a backdrop of national trends which were calculated to produce anything but a continuation of the advances in public relations through public service that marked the 1907-1918 period.[17] After the First World War, in which the national will had been concentrated in unprecedented fashion on an agreed-upon goal, Americans were "tired, irritable, disputatious, prone to let their responsibilities go, prone to show their pent-up annoyance with people with whom they had to work cheerfully in wartime,.... prone to indulge in feverish relaxations," and prone to believe, as F. Scott Fitzgerald put it, that "all gods (were) dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken." This was a far cry from the American temper which had fostered adult education--the conviction that every day in every way the world was getting better and better.

In the White House, a dedicated but tired president was bent on taking the United States forward into a League of Nations; but his countrymen were

hell-bent back to normalcy. A package library bureau, whose pamphlets typically covered subjects at the frontiers of political thought, found a declining market for its progressive literature. Americans were listening to something else. They were listening to ugly rumors of a huge radical conspiracy against the government and institutions of the United States. Millions of otherwise reasonable citizens seriously thought that a Red revolution might begin in the United States the next month or the next week, and they were less concerned with making the world safe for democracy than with making America safe for themselves. Innumerable patriotic socities sprang up, so instead of continuing to push for economic and social reforms, the Extension Division had to help defend the University against repeated charges about "red" professors, and to counter-attack with a statewide "Americanism" program.

As the Big Red Scare slowly died, Americans tried to learn how to relax. They went in for fads, savored the amusing scandals and trivialities of life. First of all was radio, which was destined ultimately to alter the daily habits of Americans as profoundly as anything that the decade produced. Sport, too, became an American obsession. So did a revolution in manners and morals. Postwar disillusion, the new status of women, Freudian gospel, the automobile, prohibition, the sex and confession magazines, the movies--all operated to bring about "the roaring twenties," which could be financed handsomely with Coolidge prosperity, but which took public interest away from more scholarly pursuits and focused it on a series of tremendous trifles--a heavyweight boxing match, a new automobile model, an airplane flight. The personification of higher education now was not Van Hise but Red Grange.

Perhaps most significant to the adult education movement was what Allen calls "the revolt of the highbrows." This "civilized minority," as the American Mercury liked to refer to them, took a great delight in overturning the idols of the majority, in trumpeting the story of a brutal war and its sordid settlement, and in looking down their noses at the very humanitarian philosophy out of which extension had grown. Their prophet was Sinclair Lewis. His Main Street and Babbitt, "in merciless literary photography and searing satire, revealed the ugliness of the American small town, the cultural poverty of its life, the tyranny of its mass prejudices, and the blatant vulgarity and insularity of the booster." The Main Street mind, implied Lewis, stood in the way of American civilization, and university extension had helped to mold that mind. It was many years before extension recaptured the confidence of the intellectuals.

Chicago gangsters in the north woods, stock tickers in Milwaukee, bathtub gin on the campus, jazz in Eau Claire--these were the sights and sounds of the '20s. Against their cacaphony, University Extension had to labor mightily.

CHANGING PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMS

As we have said, the modern university is a creature of its environment. It is constantly adjusting itself to climatic changes, and constantly interpreting its needs and aims to the people who make up its surroundings. The policies and techniques involved in this rapprochement we have called the public relations of higher education.

The introduction of laboratory work, the elective system, the admission of high school students in large numbers, the inclusion of women in the student body, the establishment of professional schools, adult education and public service--these are examples of how even such a profoundly traditional institution as the university has changed with the folkways, mores, and requirements of the times. A university cannot escape the effect of economic and social changes in the life of its "patron community." The university "responds not only to long-time forces rooted in the past, but to profound drives from beneath the surface of the present, as well as to possibly ephemeral impulses from popular pressures."[18] To the extent that this response preserves the university's great traditions while making the university a vital part of the life of its community--to this extent the university's public relations are sound.

Its Extension Division was one of the University of Wisconsin's primary means of adjusting itself to the trends and tempo of the 20th century. We have seen how the Division enabled the University and the state to enter into an unprecedented number of mutually beneficial relationships in the era between 1907 and 1918. Between 1918 and 1925 the relationship of the Extension Division to its environment was no less close, but the changing nature of the environment and the Division made those relationships somewhat less fruitful or at least less dramatic.

By and large, the 1918-1925 period was for the Extension Division a time of consolidation, as the waters of the University and the state flowed alternately through sluggish bayous and turbulent rapids. Some of the missionary zeal which had carried the Division to mass audiences was gone. The situation had been developed. The reconnaisance troops were back with reports of

openings here and stone walls there. Now was the time for a regrouping of forces, a stockpiling of ammunition, and a series of attacks with limited objectives.

One of the Division's attacks was a focusing of Extension effort on educational services to specific vocational and professional groups, and on supplementing the programs of other educational agencies.

Medical Extension. Characteristic of the new approach was the work of the Division in postgraduate medical education. Growing out of a series of wartime short courses for nurses and financed initially by a $5000 grant from the Legislature, this program involved a series of professional institutes throughout the state. Administered by the Division in cooperation with the State Medical Society and its county chapters, and staffed by Medical School professors and practicing physicians from Milwaukee, the conferences brought the University for the first time into direct contact with the medical profession of Wisconsin and oriented country doctors to such new discoveries as the use of the x-ray in the diagnosis of early pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1921 and 1922, 185 obstetrics and gynecology clinics and lectures were held in 28 cities. Reber was actually not too enthusiastic about this arrangement. He personally preferred health crusading at the level of the general public and wondered whether the county seminars were not more convival conventions than bona fide classes. The program lapsed during the depression. When it was revived it was initially as a Medical School activity divorced from Extension Division supervision.

Teacher Training. In 1921 the Wisconsin Teachers' Association announced that 700 teachers in the state lacked minimum requirements in professional or scholastic training. Extension responded by stepping up its correspondence and class work for teachers. Besides the regular academic offerings, there were special teachers' review courses and courses designed to fill sudden professional requirements: When state law required that those in charge of school libraries have specific training, Extension launched a course by mail for acting high school librarians. The first year, over 200 teachers registered for instruction. When the Legislature required that physical education be added to the school curriculum, Extension devised correspondence courses and demonstrations. For school superintendents faced with leading faculty discussion meetings, the Division developed ready-made programs. In 1923

the state superintendent of public instruction approved Extension courses for applicants for teachers' certificates, and rural school teachers became an increasing clientele of the Division. Through consultation with state and county normal school representatives, "cooperative schedules" were drawn up, listing the UW correspondence courses counting toward graduation in the respective institutions.

Extension and the University School of Education also introduced one and two-day schools for teachers. Education professors conducted programs of lectures, round-table discussions, and demonstrations from Spooner to Manitowoc. These conferences led to off-campus classes of University-grade for University credit.

The Normals viewed with alarm this invasion of their domain and stepped up their own extension activities. But the UW program had become entrenched. In the five-year period ending in 1932, 15,627 Wisconsin teachers had registered for correspondence courses. In 1931, one-eighth of all teachers in the state were sending in correspondence lessons.

School Relations. Extension served the schools and their students as well as the teachers. Its sponsorship of a program to encourage the development of Parent-Teacher Associations was carried on with printed matter and through lectures. By 1922, the Division had aided 90 community PTA's. The Bureau of Visual Instruction continued to add to its accessions and mailings. A 1922 experiment in the Racine schools indicated that fewer pupils failed when exposed to visual aids, a finding which became part of Extension's promotional literature. For schools with limited curricula and for students needing remedial work, the Division developed courses of high school-grade. In 1925, 666 high school students were registered with the Division.

Prison Work. Field men and wardens encouraged prisoners at Waupun and in reformatories to take correspondence courses suited to their backgrounds and ambitions. In 1922, 192 prisoners were registered for Extension work. Some turned out to be superior students, and discipline problems were fewer among students than non-students.

School for Workers. The birth of the University's famous School for Workers belongs to this period. Although not an Extension Division activity at the time, it was typical of the general focus on service to specific groups and later it came under the Division. The School originated in 1925

in the establishment of a six-week resident summer session for working women. The restriction to women was removed in 1928. Courses were designed to fit the immediate needs of trade unionists, who became dominant in the enrollment.

Citizenship Training. Even in its postwar citizenship training program, the Division reflected the trend toward cooperation with specific groups and organizations. A major portion of this "Americanism" push had to do with women--who but recently had been accorded full citizenship. In conjunction with the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin, Extension sponsored a School of Citizenship in the state capitol in 1920.

Veterans. Wisconsin veterans could receive government subsidies for taking courses in engineering and business. In Milwaukee large numbers of them knocked on Extension's door and the Division met the need by setting up two two-year terminal technical courses, one in commerce and one in building design and construction. These day classes started in 1919. Out of this special service to a special group grew a new Extension vehicle, the Milwaukee Extension Division.

A NEW PUBLIC SERVICE VEHICLE

The University, of course, had been in Milwaukee a long time. As early as 1892, professors from Madison had lectured on literary topics before discussion groups. A Milwaukee Extension office set up in 1907 pre-dated Reber's system of district offices. In that year there were one professor and 58 students in a series of evening classes. By the time the Milwaukee area was organized as a district in 1909, a staff of four was handling 882 students in vocational work, 141 in preparatory courses, and 129 in University credit courses. Reber believed that having an instructional staff on the spot was more economical and efficient than sending men from Madison. This point of view laid the groundwork for the development of a large and permanent branch of the Division in Milwaukee.

As a matter of fact, as early as 1909, Milwaukee citizens were petitioning for a full-fledged branch of the University. Van Hise discouraged them on the grounds that branches would ...ken the parent body.

When the city of Milwaukee set up a vocational school in 1913, the Division met the resulting loss of students by changing the emphasis of its offerings from shop apprentice courses to "higher engineering subjects and... work of a general character." The postwar bulge of veterans swelled the faculty to 32 and enrollments to 3,820.

By 1923 Milwaukee Extension foresaw the end of veteran enrollments and felt pressures from non-veteran students. That fall it opened its day classes to all who wished University grade work and extended that work to include a two-year liberal arts course paralleling freshman-sophomore work at Madison. Appointments, teaching methods, and examinations were under the surveillance of the residence departments on Bascom Hill. The establishment of the regular curriculum attracted more students, and the next year the Center moved from an old residence on Van Buren Street to a rented building in downtown Milwaukee.

The Milwaukee evening program likewise received a shot in the arm. In cooperation with the City Club, the Division in 1920 launched a winter lecture series, patterned on the Lowell Lectures in Boston.

All this activity indicated the need for an Extension building. In 1921 the Legislature appointed an interim committee to study the matter. Its report was a foregone conclusion: Reber was its secretary. Milwaukee was a spot "in which the State University should, and to advantage can, work," the committee decided. "Building as contrasted with renting will mean greater efficiency at less cost." The 1923 Legislature accepted the committee report and appropriated $150,000.

Growing slowly but surely out of the University's statutory right to organize extension classes, a Lakeshore University was on the way.

A NEW COMMUNICATIONS TECHNIQUE[19]

To its battery of communications techniques, Extension in the 1918-1925 period added another--radio.

Under the direction of two physics professors, the University had constructed wireless station 9XM before World War I. Wartime regulations forced the dismantling of similar stations, but Wisconsin's was permitted by the U.S. Navy to continue experimenting. By the time government restrictions in the field were removed, the University's experiment was well on its way to becoming radio station WHA.

Extension's William H. Lighty saw possibilities in radio. In 1922 Birge appointed him chairman of a University faculty committee on educational broadcasting, and by virtue of this assignment he became WHA's first program director. The early broadcasts included weather and market reports, baccalaureate exercises, literary readings, lectures, concerts, a music appreciation course, and sports events. In 1924 Lighty and his committee planned a

long-range series of 15-minute educational talks set amidst a program of musical entertainment--one of the first vacuum-tube attempts at interpreting higher education.

As an educament medium, radio proved to have real merit. And as a means of supplementing instruction in local schools it early found a niche. In WHA's first year, high school principals began to inquire about broadcasts for their students. University broadcasters encouraged schools to install radio receivers. By 1931 "The Wisconsin School of the Air" was presenting schools with extensive programs in civics, music, art appreciation, nature study, and health. In 1940 almost 300,000 elementary and high school students were regular listeners.

This development, however, took place outside the Extension Division. Lighty's direct control of broadcasting activities came to an end when Extension's Dean Chester Snell all but retired him from active service in 1926. Neither Snell nor his cohorts appreciated Lighty's vision or took advantage of the head start he had given the Division in educational radio. WHA became the instrument of the speech department and the College of Agriculture. Not until the days of television did the Division again enter the broadcasting business.

INSTITUTIONALISM

The failure of Extension to capitalize on radio, the activities of the Medical School in extension work, the extent to which teacher training was a function of the School of Education, and the frantic emphasis placed on standards, uniformity, and nomenclature--these were all evidences that Extension's arteries were hardening. Institutionalism has undermined many movements, and it came close to sinking Extension.

In 1919 the newly incorporated National University Extension Association issued a profound statement on its role in cementing extension. One of its first jobs was to issue 11,000 pieces of standardized "Americanization" literature. Then it sponsored a federal bulletin on "The Administration of Correspondence-Study Departments of Universities and Colleges." This was followed by a federal bulletin which included a model statement of policy on the place of the extension division in the university.

In 1920, the NUEA, at the urging of Reber, adopted a resolution on "nomenclature," spelling out minutely what the various titles in the extension hierarchy should be. A concurrent resolution went into details on "the

standardization of university extension credit courses." The next year a UW MA thesis was devoted to an enumeration of the points which should be taken into consideration in judging correspondence schools.[20]

In a 1926 federal bulletin, in a section devoted to "New Lines of Service," the University of Wisconsin was conspicuous for its absence. The same bulletin however, carried Lighty's NUEA committee report on "Efforts at Standardization."

In short, Extension was now old enough to have its own traditions and codes and to depart from them only reluctantly. The NUEA favored conformity more than originality. As W.S. Bittner observed somewhat belatedly, "Now there is nothing significantly new, no particularly important innovation apparent either in the philosophy or the practice of university extension. It has a traditional pattern showing little evidence of reshaping."[22]

President Birge had said:

"The most obvious duty of the state university is to meet the needs of the community for technical and professional training....The second great task is the providing of courses of liberal education....The third great duty lies in research and in training for research....If she accomplished these duties, she is worthy of the name of a state university."[23]

In seeking in its own way to be worthy of the name, University Extension went through a period of substituting the standards of the campus for the standards of the state. Respectability in Madison was deemed more desirable than popularity in Minocqua. "Security" and "solidarity" had joined "service" as Extension watchwords. In the absence of a great leader and in the presence of an inhospitable climate, such a period of consolidation was probably inevitable. For seven years the Division more or less spun its wheels so far as programs went, but its internal adjustments did give it a stronger position from which to strike out anew after 1926.

NATIONAL ACCEPTANCE

Extension had reached a temporary plateau in the '20s, but in terms of public acceptance it was a high plateau. The concept of the service-university, so largely unheralded and unsung before 1903, by 1923 was a commonplace in the plans of college leaders throughout the country:

"We must do our utmost," said Illinois' [illegible]ry Woodburn Chase, "to deal with the vast and complex problem of popular [illegible]gher education." "The true

university," said the federal Bureau of Education, "should have both open gates and cloistered libraries, both practical, itinerant messengers and theoretical, isolated servants." "All persons in the commonwealth are properly students of a state institution," wrote Cornell's Dean Bailey. The Chancellor of New York University called the penetration of higher education by increasing multitudes "a phenomenon without parallel in the social history of the world." Only those institutions in which adults are associated are universities, decreed Chicago's Harper. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss exclaimed, "This is what Josiah Strong wanted the churches to do. Now the universities are doing it!"

Back where extension came from, in England, adult education won financial backing from the government under the 1924 Regulations for Adult Education. In the United States the same year, the NUEA reported that "practically all the educational institutions of university-grade in this country now have more or less well-established extension divisions as a part of their regular university organization," and estimated that "the number of different students enrolled in university extension credit courses during the past fiscal year (1922-23) was, in round numbers, 77,000."[24]

Why the rapid and substantial growth of university extension? For one thing, of course, university extension was filling a felt need on the part of the public. But the need had been there for a long time. There was a deeper reason for the national acceptance of extension. As the 20th century brought the emergence of popular government by public opinion, both public and private institutions found themselves no longer isolated from the disturbed atmosphere that envelops party and sect and region, and they searched for those policies and procedures which would make for clear communication and fruitful relationships. The publicly supported school needed the goodwill of a state or a municipality; the privately endowed college enjoyed a precarious exemption from taxation and would have private funds only to the extent that the prosperity and goodwill of the public would allow.[25] Neither was defended any longer by ivory towers against misunderstanding or public resentment. Research was expensive. Unless the public understood what was being done and valued it, the universities would be penalized and their influence for public good reduced. Campuses were called alternately hot-beds of communism and cold-frames of another sort.[26] To harried presidents and trustees, extension was a tailor-made method for building that public interest and support upon which higher education relies.

By accepting extension as an irreplaceable public relations principle, presidents and trustees were also doing something else, something which Creese believes may be adult education's "greatest and most durable social value."[27] They were attempting, formally for the first time, to reconcile some of the divergent purposes of academic and everyday life and particularly to bring practical considerations and theoretical considerations into useful and acceptable relationship. To that end, extension had a profound effect on formal education.

Extension brought to the campus the air of the world: a buoyant, competitive spirit; family pride in the attainments of the university; an identification of the scholar with something greater than himself and his classroom; an institutional assertion of public duty. Knowledge had been broken into fragments; the graduate school was made of specialists who begot more specialists. Extension offered a corrective, compensating value--a feeling for the integrated way in which knowledge must be applied at the community level. These two perspectives were not always congenial elements on the campus, but where teaching, research, and extension were adjusted to one another with neatness and good judgment, universities were immeasurably strengthened.[28]

Glenn Frank, as was his euphonious way, described this adjustment in colorful words: "Today the street cuts squarely across the campus, the classroom opens into the market place, and the slum is next door to the seminary."[29]

But extension brought to the campus more than an air of the world. It brought specific changes in curricula and counselling. At the University of Wisconsin, for example, the junior dean used correspondence study as a means of testing students temporarily dropped from residence on account of low grades. The Milwaukee Extension Center's two-year construction course became a four-year course in "light building industry" on Bascom Hill. Visual aids designed for high schools showed up in college halls. Cooperation in the sponsorship of adult institutes led academic departments into increased "cross fertilization" in residence teaching and research. Adult lecture series became the pattern for "integrated liberal studies" for undergraduates. An extension clinic on nuisance smoke triggered a long research project in combustion and fuel burning. Municipal Reference Bureau files furnished the

raw material for scores of political science theses. The activities of the School for Workers kept residence economics professors at the growing edge of labor problems, and prompted commerce professors to develop an interest in the practical problems of management.

Perhaps this is what Bascom meant when he said that only by understanding "the conditions of the prosperity and peace of the people" and helping to provide them would a university be "permanently great."

PUBLIC RELATIONS ASSESSMENTS

After surveying the range of university extension services in this period, the new U.S. Office of Education came to these conclusions:[30]

1. Agricultural extension owed its position to five contributing factors--an historical ideal of direct service, substantial federal support, private economic advantage, political consciousness, and cooperation supplemented by effective publicity.

2. Smith-Lever programs of work did not adequately recognize that agricultural extension should include not only vocational training but also important social and humanistic purposes.

3. The lack of close articulation of extension with resident instruction and research work was a decided weakness in the organization of many institutions.

4. Unless extension specialists brought back to their institutions pressing problems requiring research attention, they were only partially filling the job.

5. The most effective extension organizations are those in which the central supervisory force welds local people into responsible action groups.

6. The responsibility for obtaining state legislative appropriations for extension activities was now assumed by the directors in several states. Such requests should be included in the larger institutional budgets and promoted by institutional administrators.

7. Administrative measures being developed to raise the level of training and caliber of extension workers were not adequate and satisfactory.

8. When training and experience were considered, extension people as a whole were well paid compared to college teachers, but the college teacher

had a better chance of ultimately securing a higher salary than the extension person if both remained in their respective lines of work.

9. One feature of great strength in extension work was its close relationship to commercial organizations. Nevertheless, these relationships had resulted in failure to maintain in some instances the strictly educational functions of extension. Commercial agencies had cooperated with and strongly supported extension activities. But reports of attempts at exploitation of these relations in the interest of business enterprises made very clear the need for promptly dealing with such situations.

10. Programs of work consisted often of a large number of projects hastily chosen and "thrown together" into a paper outline of activities. Projects should be fewer in number and the elements of each thoroughly analyzed.

11. There was a decided tendency to base judgments as to efficiency and progress upon quantitative measures and to ignore the importance of quality in achievements.

12. If extension education failed to reach its maximum effectiveness and to hold its true place in the general educational program it would be largely because of weak administration based upon expediency of action.

13. Some universities, immersed in Smith-Lever activities, had not availed themselves of the opportunity to offer general extension work.

14. There were too many administrative controls in a number of institutions. Division with respect to authority and responsibility led to confusion in the institution and to embarrassment in its relations with the public.

15. The position of general extension in the institution was another matter of supreme importance in the organization of the service. It was necessary to recognize that extension and resident work were mutually interdependent. This interdependence had two distinct phases--the proper recognition of general extension in the university organization, and the recognition by the extension staff of the need of resident cooperation. Resident organizations had not accepted the extension organizations into full fellowship in university circles; neither had extension organizations utilized to a satisfactory degree the resources that ought to be available from resident faculties. The general result of these failures to appreciate mutual interdependence had been to accentuate the isolation of general extension.

16. As extension work continued to develop, it would become increasingly necessary to employ larger permanent staffs in order to develop techniques of procedure both in administration and in teaching that would meet the peculiar needs of this service.

17. Reliance for support on fees had resulted in the stimulation or undue emphasis on certain phases of extension work with neglect of others.

18. Institutions of higher learning still occupied to a considerable extent a position of isolation in their communities. This isolation had elements of strength and also of weakness. General extension should effect contact with various agencies and with different professions and occupations just as had Smith-Lever extension in the more limited fields of its service.

19. Although general extension had recognized to a certain degree the importance of publicity, a failure to utilize to the fullest degree the many legitimate publicity methods by which university extension might be promoted was in no small measure responsible for extension's failure to realize the broadest goals of its founders.

20. The most important consideration after all was the extent and quality of the service which extension had rendered. The survey indicated clearly that the universities were offering extension services over a great range of subject matter and through many types of approach to the public.

Most of these assessments applied specifically to the University of Wisconsin in 1925. Many of them obtain today.

GREENER GRASS

By January, 1925, the climatic changes which we examined earlier had produced a stage in University of Wisconsin public relations which Theordore Kronshage, Jr., president of the Regents, could only call "an emergency the like of which has not confronted the University since the far-off days of the Civil War."* President Birge had asked for a sizable increase in the University operating budget and a building fund of $3 million, pointing out that the state had expended no money for academic buildings since Sterling Hall had been erected in 1913. The State Board of Public Affairs elected instead to cut the University appropriation by $300,000 and recommended a building fund of only some $591,000.

In the face of this "critical" situation, the University mustered popular support such as had not been recruited since the turn of the century. Faculty,

*The statement was ghost-written by Prof. Grant M. Hyde of University Press Bureau

students, regents, alumni, and friends pitched in. President George I. Haight of the Wisconsin Alumni Association published at his own expense a booklet which carried broadside around the state the message that "if financial measures now before the Legislature are enacted into law, they will not only prevent the development of the University, but they will cripple it beyond all recognition." A Janesville superintendent of schools, Frank O. Holt, who was later to serve the University as registrar, dean of the Extension Division, and director of public service, presented the University's requests to the Legislature. In the middle of the fight the Board of Regents announced that it had finally picked a new University president, Glenn Frank, the young editor of Century magazine.

Almost overnight in the spring of 1925 the University grass turned green. The Legislature appropriated a respectable operating budget, including a bigger Extension grant, and a $1½ million UW building fund. Dr. Frank arrived. Prof. Harry Steenbock announced from a biochemistry laboratory that he had discovered a way to irradiate foodstuffs artificially with vitamin D, spelling the end of rickets. The University granted 1,870 diplomas to its largest graduating class. Ground was broken for two new men's dormitories, Tripp and Adams Halls, and for the Memorial Union Building, after long campaigns for each project. The sparkling young director of extension in North Carolina made noises about accepting an offer to come to Wisconsin. And 1,000 concrete seats were being added to Camp Randall Stadium. Little wonder that the editor of the Wisconsin Alumni Magazine proclaimed with confidence that "Wisconson's golden age is here!"

V.

IN DEPRESSION

People, inside and outside an institution, and events, international to local, are inseparable from the story of any public relations program. Chester D. Snell came from North Carolina to the University of Wisconsin to succeed Louis E. Reber as dean of the Extension Division in the spring of 1926. During his nine-year tenure the Division, the University, the state, and the country were to reach new heights and new depths.

ROLLER COASTER

The Campus. The first five years of the Frank-Snell period at the University of Wisconsin were verily to seem the gilded era which Wisconsin's alumni editor had proclaimed.[1] President Frank came to 157 Bascom bursting with ideas. He was not long in trying them out. By June of 1926 he was attracting national attention with a baccalureate address on "The Six Lamps of Liberal Learning." By December of 1926 he had rescued Alexander Meiklejohn from Amherst and commissioned him to set up an experimental college. By January of 1927 he had asked for a whopping budget by declaring that "I am willing to make a sporting proposition to the people of Wisconsin"--and won it that spring. By June of 1927 he was entertaining Baron Ago von Maltzan, the German ambassador, the first of many distinguished Frank guests. By September of 1927 he was welcoming a record registration of nearly 9,000 students. By October of 1927 he was dedicating a sizable addition to Bascom Hall, including a theater and a reading room. By January of 1928 he was writing Thunder and Dawn. By December of 1928 he had helped the Phi Gamma Delta boys housewarm their new $90,000 mansion, one of many fraternity and sorority houses to go up along the Langdon Street "gold coast." By June of 1930 he had encouraged a liberalization of the Letters and Science curriculum. By October of 1930 he had trimmed the powers of his deans of men and women, following a series of incidents in which Prof. William Ellery Leonard had accused Dean Scott H. Goodnight of "snooping tactics." By November of 1930 he had called for a revival of responsible student government.

But Glenn Frank was not to be allowed to play out his University career in an era of sweetness and light. University enrollment had increased steadily since World War I, but in September of 1930 came a falling off which the registrar attributed to "the general business and industrial

Depression." This brought a decrease in student fee income which was not to be reversed until the New Deal funnelled Federal Emergency Relief Administration and National Youth Administration funds into the campus for student part-time jobs and sent the 1935 enrollment back up to over 9,000 again.

Not only did the student body grow smaller; it grew more critical. It took a new interest in the economic system that was leading 76 out of 91 fraternities into bankruptcy. It inveighed against the status quo. And Dr. Frank was a part of that status quo.

The Depression brought a sharp decline in University appropriations from the state. A system of salary waivers was instituted which reduced faculty pay checks by from 3 to 13 percent. The University Teachers' Union criticized the Frank "key man" policy by which "a few eminent men are retained at salaries the University cannot afford," resulting in a "tendency to starve the whole University to keep a few stars."

A combination of the tenor of the times and Dr. Frank's own vacillations in administration produced during this period a series of campus thunderstorms which followed each other in breathless succession and which were finally to be "trumped up," as Dr. Frank put it, into a "tempest of hysteria" which was to blow him out of office in January of 1937.

Criticisms, charges, investigation, threats, and muckraking came from all sides. As early as 1928 the liberals had jumped on Frank for his barring the use of a University auditorium to Dora Russell. They cried again when he sided with the Regents who in 1931 revoked the board ruling prohibiting the acceptance by the University of subsidies from incorporated educational foundations.

The conservatives looked askance at Frank's authorization of Prof. Max Otto's "atheistic" philosophy courses, his espousal of the National Mooney-Villings Committee and the Victor L. Berger Foundation, and his failure to censor the Daily Cardinal when it printed a communication which scoffed at the idea that free sexual relations among students were necessarily bad.

There was the John B. Chapple charge that Dr. Frank was a "Red." There was the Capital Times complaint that "education is being corrupted by the eternal quest of University presidents and regents for big endowments and bequests from those who have the money." Free love, football, liquor, fraternity hazing, administration, the Memorial Union, the dormitories, and

a dozen other phases of college life came in for goings-over. There were minor tempests like Prof. F. H. Elwell's disagreement with the Rev. Alfred W. Swan over the campus minister's liberalism. And there were major ones like the firing of Football Coach Clarence Spears and Athletic Director Walter Meanwell (who disagreed about who should run the show), and Trainer William Fallon (who reportedly gave the team blackberry brandy between halves). And the firing of Chester Snell himself, following a public trial which featured stories about ruthless dismissal notices and illicit romance. Frank labeled the whole series of controversies "nagging criticism by a band of connivers and a few newspapers." But it was more than that. It was an almost complete breakdown in the public relations which had been so painstakingly built up 20 and 30 years before. As the Wisconsin Journal of Education put it: "During these years when the University is kicked and pummelled, there is nothing with the remotest resemblance to organized protection or expression of faith."

Philip F. La Follette, in his inaugural address as governor in 1931, had made official the schism when he declared that "we cannot afford increasingly large expenditures with increasingly diminishing returns." Six years later Frank was summarily called before a meeting of the Regents, charged with mismanagement of finances, weak execution of administrative affairs, failure to devote sufficient time to the University, and lack of backing from those with whom he had to deal. He was dismissed by a vote of 8 to 7. By May his successor was on the campus--Clarence A. Dykstra, city manager of Cincinnati.

The Country. If the Frank-Snell regime was marked by its dramatic ups and downs, it was partly because that was the country's course between 1926 and 1935. In the America of 1928 you heard Herbert Hoover and Al Smith arguing about prohibition, because that was the only presidential campaign issue that people worried about. You turned and watched a Dawn Gray Model A Ford roll down the street. You watched women's legs, because skirts barely covered the knee-cap and bosoms were disguised. You read that Colonel Lindbergh was coming back to Madison to attend an alumni reunion. You read Madisonian Thornton Wilder's The Bridge of San Luis Rey, or S. S. Van Dine's The Greene Murder Case. You went to the Orpheum to see Al Jolson in "The Jazz Singer" on the Vitaphone. You marveled about Commander Byrd's flight to the South Pole. You didn't have to follow the financial pages to know

that the stock market was reaching dizzy heights. You had a position and you were spending money--all you earned and all you could borrow.

Four years later you heard Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt arguing about relief programs, because this political campaign was in dead earnest. You watched the same Model A go down the street. You didn't watch women's legs, because skirts were down to the ankles and bosoms were back in style. You read that Earl Browder would make a speech in the Memorial Union. You read Maurice Hindus's Humanity Uprooted, or All Quiet on the Western Front. A campus commentator reported that there was not now a single "Flamie Mamie" who could be compared with "the girls who five years ago were wearing leopard-skin coats, driving expensive roadsters, and generally raising hell,"[2] and you marveled at that. You didn't have to follow the financial pages to know that the stock market was reaching dismal depths. If you had a job, you were spending all you earned, but you weren't borrowing because the banks were closed.

In between these eras was Thursday, October 24, 1929, when the world came rumbling down in what Economics Professor William H. Kiekhofer innocently interpreted at the time as "a technical adjustment of the stock market."

The tragic, grinding events of the early '30s were equaled as drama only by the heart-lifting, rapid-fire projects of the New Deal. Taking office in the dark Depression days of 1933, President Roosevelt set out to restore confidence, relieve suffering, prime the pump of business, and move toward social reform on a broad front. Many of the steps the New Deal took were not new. Many had been foreshadowed by the "Wisconsin idea" a generation before. But they were taken so rapidly and vigorously--a considerable number within 100 days of the inauguration--that enormous changes took place in the America of the late '30s. Only to sound the role of the alphabet agencies--RFC, HOLC, FHA, FFCA, NRA, SEC, FCC, FERA, CCC, NYA, CEA, PWA, WPA, TVA, SCS, REA, RRA, NHA, SSA, NIRA, NLRB--is to recall the vast projection of the federal government into the life of every citizen and the campus of every university.

These socio-economic conditions affected Extension markedly between 1926 and 1935; so did changing intellectual formulations concerning human nature and the relations of man to nature. Many educators and philosophers appealed to tradition for their principal assumptions; among them were the New Humanists, the intellectuals, and Roman Catholic leaders. Others

appealed to physical science for their standards of authority. Still others appealed to the newer concepts of evolutionary thought, pragmatism, and social reform for the development of an educational perspective commonly known as experimentalism. Through these points of view the state university tried to pick its way.

The trend toward federal participation in education was accelerated following precedents established by the 1914 Smith-Lever and the 1917 Smith-Hughes Acts providing for agricultural extension. In 1929 the appropriations for vocational education had been increased by the George-Reed Act. The Civilian Conservation Corps of 1933 was set up to give relief, employment, and vocational training for unemployed youths. Vocational rehabilitation of handicapped persons received federal aid through the Social Security Act of 1935. The National Youth Administration of the same year provided financial aid to unemployed youths to attend school. The Works Project Administration provided funds for unemployed teachers, workers' education, adult education, and national citizenship education. The Public Works Administration offered extensive grants and loans for construction of school and college buildings. Later the Civil Aeronautics Authority was to sponsor programs for the training of pilots, and large federal funds were to be distributed through the United States Office of Education for the training of defense workers in schools and colleges.

The emergency demands and supports for vocational, technical, and scientific training led universities to realize even more clearly what Extension had been saying all along--that such demands and supports reflected not only the needs of a nation in Depression, but also the continuing needs of an industrial democracy. They realized that they could not maintain the old snobbery concerning "practical education" and that both "cultural" and "practical" aims must be synthesized into a new outlook appropriate to modern life. Van Hise and Reber had said that in 1907. The idea now had the blessing of federal policy and federal cash. But universities also realized what Lighty had clearly grasped--that "no amount of intellectual or cultural or vocational training would be desirable if their whole program was not oriented around the goal of social responsibility for achieving and maintaining a democratic society in the United States and in the world."[3]

John Bascom's doctrine--the responsibility of education in the struggle for the right--had first inspired two University of Wisconsin classmates to effect the Van Hise-La Follette entente that made possible "the Wisconsin idea" of partnership between government, university, and people. Now Bascom's doctrine was federal law.

The People. Like the days in which they lived, both Frank and Snell presented two faces to the world.

Glenn Frank may be said to have fit his own definition of a mugwump--a man with his mug on one side of the fence and his wump on the other. Frank bespoke a deep faith in productive scholarship: "The University of Wisconsin will neither cut itself off from the vast cooperative efforts of American and European scholarship nor retrench on its own research program."[4] But Frank did not look the part of the scholar. Wearing light-colored spats, smoking the latest design in collegiate pipes, carrying a cane, riding in the latest model Packard driven by a chauffeur, sporting a butler and a tutor for his son, Frank shocked his more conservative colleagues. The fact that his doctorate was only "honorary" merely confirmed their impression that here was no patron of true research.

Frank had a magnificent command of the English language; but when Snell asked Frank for statements as to his desires with respect to Extension policy, Frank seldom had any specific recommendations.

Frank raised "the recruiting trumpet for the interpreter" of education, and declared that "continuous public debate on public problems is the root of change and progress."[5] But when up-state service clubs wrote to the president's office to invite Frank to speak, they got their answer from a commercial lecture bureau, quoting few open dates and fat fees.

Frank made a number of key promotions: Chris L. Christensen to the deanship of the College of Agriculture; Dr. William S. Middleton to the deanship of the Medical School; Frank O. Holt to the deanship of the Extension Division; E. B. Fred to the deanship of the Graduate School. But when he staffed his Experimental College he went shopping in the East.

Frank spoke in courageous terms: "As long as I am president, I shall fight for the University's freedom to deal objectively with the life of the mind."[6] But when students invited Dora Russell to address them, Frank said there was "a broad distinction between free speech and indecent speech."

In his inaugural address Frank accepted the Extension concept: "We must see to it that the learning of this University is ever linked closely to the life of the state, serving alike the youthful minds on the campus, and adult minds beyond the campus, making all the knowledge and all the insight of the University available to men and women throughout Wisconsin for the economic betterment, the intellectural stimulation, and the spiritual enrichment of their lives."[7] But when the financial going got tough eight years later, Frank was willing to scuttle educational radio and extension credit courses in favor of some "freshly conceived" program of University services, a program which he did not define.

As assistant to the president of Northwestern University and as an associate of Edward A. Filene, Frank had acquired a reputation as an administrator, but Wisconsin saw little of the adeptness in university politics and human relations which had marked the Van Hise era and which was to distinguish the adminstration of E. B. Fred. As a writer, editor, and lecturer, Frank had acquired a reputation as a liberal, but in terms of La Folletteism, at least, he was "not a very good progressive."[8]

One side of Frank could lead a local newspaperman to remember him as an "energetic," "charming" man who "instilled an esprit de corps in the university's faculty; infused new life and fresh blood into its teaching staff, enhanced its academic prestige; quickened the moral tone and incited the loyalty of the student body to new heights."[9] But the Board of Regents which sacked Frank did not consider him to be "a business or educational administrator fit to handle $7,000,000 a year."[10]

Probably no one could have spanned successfully both the days of Stalwart prosperity and the days of Progressive depression as president of the Universite of Wisconsin. There is in most university presidencies a cycle of seven fat years and seven lean. But there is little doubt but what Glenn Frank contributed personally to the debacle which overtook him and his University.

Chester Snell, like Frank, was a controversial figure. An ardent camper, fisherman, and tennis player, he might have been at home on a Piedmont plantation. But in action he turned out to be a driver.

Snell had built his reputation at North Carolina to a considerable extent on his development of cultural-arts extension; but his first move at Madison was to install a Kardex System and introduce other business procedures.

Supposedly an able administrator who had built "an efficient organization in a short space of time" in Carolina, Snell turned out to be no respecter of those two campus lampposts--seniority and tenure.

Snell spoke of making University Extension the means of diverting the increasing American leisure into contemplative channels, but in time of budget stress he ordered a cessation of financial fliers in community drama and plumped for more utilitarian services to small businessmen.

Prone to take long vacations at first, Snell was brought up short by a 1927 Regents' report which failed to find "positive results" in his administration. After that, in a hurry to show activity, he lopped heads here and skinned shins there, overlooking the very elements in basic human relations which he liked to read and talk about.

Louis Reber, who had shown himself to be a keen judge of men, had hand-picked Snell as his successor in full confidence that Snell would carry on a great tradition of "service." What the University got, in Frank's opinion, was "a ruthless egoist who would resort to any sort of charge to destroy the standing of anyone he wanted to oust from his staff," and who "carried on persistent lobbying for his special interests, often displaying disloyalty to his colleagues and other interests of the University."[11]

With the death of Van Hise, University Extension at Wisconsin had lost the first of Creese's three Extension requirements": a sympathetic president. In the Frank-Snell era, Extension lost the second: a clear, friendly channel between president and dean.

These contradicitons--in campus, country, and people--produced two kinds of headlines:

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION IS ENLARGING SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF WISCONSIN

'U' Campus
Now Covers
Whole State

Seeks to Meet Demand for
Effective Adult
Education

----(Madison) Capital Times, January 1, 1928

WISCONSIN U
YACHT LOVE!

University 'Free Love'
Quiz Rocks Campus!

Steno's Tryst on Yacht to be bared

YACHT PARTY
STORY TOLD
IN RECORDS

Dean Snell Ousted Following
His Sensational Charges
---(Chicago) Daily Times, Thursday, April 25, 1935

"HITTING ON ALL SIX"

In 1926, of course, 1935 was a long way away, and nobody dreamed that its outlines would be any less salubrious than the halcyon air of the '20s.

Let's say it's 1926, and you are a bright young man from Carolina saddled with the job of breathing new life into an Extension Division that has a great tradition but which has gone somewhat to seed. What would you do? Well, you would probably take the Division by the scruff of the neck, shake it vigorously, and come up with come administrative changes. That is what Chester Snell did. By 1929 he could report to the Board of Regents that "a three-year plan of changes and developments" had been worked out in detail, "each little reorganization" playing its part in making the Division "function efficiently."[12]

Administration. Summarized, Snell's administrative shifts look like this:[13]

1. An assistant dean brought in to handle details of business management, to install a departmentalized cost accounting and budgeting system, and to bring correspondence-study records up-to-date.

2. Lighty shunted aside and a director of extension teaching brought in to supervise correspondence study and special classes, paying particular attention to the revision of out-of-date courses.

3. A general faculty reshuffling, including 12 promotions, 31 resignations, and 39 new appointments.

4. An office of director of field organization created to revise extension districts and coordinate the field staff.

5. Offices reallocated to provide better grouping of activities and pooling of secretarial help.

6. Bureaus of Dramatic Activities, Musical Education, Recreation and Community Organization, Economics and Sociology, and Business Information set up. The work of the Bureaus of Postgraduate Medical Extension, Lectures and Short Courses, and Municipal Information reviewed and redirected.

7. Administrative staff and curriculum of the Milwaukee Center reorganized.

8. Faculty committees formed to consider various Extension programs, and conferences held with educational groups in the state to develop cooperative relationships.

9. An Extension "editor" appointed.

In all these shifts, Snell told the Regents, "increased emphasis has been laid on the development of the various Extension services in quality rather than in quantity, and on the newer activities of adult education in preference to the older and more stereotyped ones."[14]

"The outstanding development," in Snell's opinion, "was the planning and erection of a seven-story building in the city of Milwaukee--the first state university Extension building in America devoted primarily to that form of enlightenment known as adult education."[15] The Milwaukee program evolved actually into two programs--the Day School, holding classes from 8 to 4, and the Evening School, holding classes from 4:30 to 9:15--and required a staff of 30 full-time and 53 part-time people. The Day School offered "complete freshman and sophomore work in Letters and Science, Engineering, and the college subjects prerequisite to degrees in medicine, law, journalism, or business"--"equivalent to those listed under the same designation in the regular curriculum of the University of Wisconsin...approved by the respective residence departments at Madison, and carrying full credit toward a University degree." The Evening School offered two kinds of courses: "degree credit courses and certificate courses," and experimented with a series of non-credit liberal adult education conferences promoted under the name of "Foundations in Liberal Education." Day School registrations by 1929 had risen by 77 per cent over 1926, Evening School registrations by 116.

Programs. Snell's shifts were not merely on paper. He made strides in programming, thanks in part to a staff which reached 172 full-time and 210 part-time people and to a budget in excess of half a million dollars.

Correspondence study and local class instruction remained "the chief instruments" of the Division, and new registrations rose from 11,450 in 1926 to 14,314 in 1929. Course completions increased by 18 percent.

Newer to the scene was a growing program of conferences, short courses, and institutes for trade, professional, and social groups: extensive post-graduate classes for practicing physicians coupled with a medical circulating library, classes for policemen on "Police Problems," a Wisconsin citizenship school, dramatic institutes, retail conferences, electric metermen's schools, recreation institutes, highway construction short courses, a firemanship school, a headlight testing clinic, a foundry foremen's conference.

Newer still was the work of the new bureaus. The Bureau of Dramatic Activities sponsored the Wisconsin Dramatic Guild and assisted local dramatic organizations in the production of home-talent plays and pageants. The Bureau of Economics and Sociology and the Bureau of Recreation and Community Organization gave information, counsel, or guidance to community groups or leaders in regard to problems of public and community welfare. The Bureau of Business Information answered letters and issued The Wisconsin Retail Bulletin.

Meanwhile the Department of Debating and Public Instruction, the Bureau of Lectures, the Bureau of Visual Instruction, and the Municipal Reference Bureau mailed out and sent out packages and people in such volume that Snell could testify "of the 1,060 places in Wisconsin having post offices, the Extension Division renders service to 75 per cent." An Extension-made film, "Wisconsin, Its Government and Work," earned the praises of Regents, the Legislature, and educators.

Communications. Many of Snell's programs were not actually new. Many had been conceived in Extension's early days and then allowed to lapse. Snell called them all "new" and in fact did manage to brew some new wine in old bottles. But perhaps it can be said that Snell's greatest contribution to Wisconsin Extension was his ability to dramatize, to "sell," to clothe traditional programs and procedures in appealing new trappings.

Snell identified "extension" with "the extending of the facilities of the universities as they exist," and preferred to speak of what he was doing as "a new field of education termed 'adult education'--that education which, after formal schooling is stopped, continues or should continue throughout life." The distinction was a slim one. A local interpreter was more realistic

when he termed adult education as "university extension hitting on all six." But Snell's semantics did serve at least to give the impression that here was dancing fire rising out of cold cinders. Into Frank's casual reference to the need for extending all the knowledge and all the insight of the University, Snell read great significance in the word "all," and he thereupon referred to his domain as the All-Universty Extension Division. To carry the message of All-University Extension to the people of the state, Snell hired a full-time editor, issued broadside a regular Extension Bulletin, and sent "boilerplate" features to weekly newspapers. Flowery stories began to appear in state dailies and magazines. To jazz up its promotional literature, the Division purchased a "multicolor duplicator." Close ties with such groups as the Wisconsin High School Forensic Association also served to stop up outgoing Division communications.

"The old oppositions and limitations are gone," the story went, "and the whole university is now functioning in the life of the state."[17] "Revolutionary changes in University Extension activities" would redeem the rural families who crowded into "flivvers" to attend pie-throwing motion picture comedies, and their urban relatives who gorged themselves on "metropolitan sex plays."[18]

Besides singing a new song out to the state, Snell rebuilt incoming communications channels. Field men were encouraged to feel the general pulse of their communities and to make confidential reports to Chester Allen. Bureau chiefs, most of them new men unwedded to traditional formats, were encouraged to tailor their programs to the "felt needs" of individuals, groups, and cooperating agencies. Snell himself was attuned to his times. As he described the milieu in which he commenced operations: "Mass production in industry; greater prosperity and leisure for certain classes; a greater increase in the number of college students; modern life speeded up and made more complex with its radios; fast traveling automobiles, aeroplanes, and talkies; less emphasis on home life; the building of thousands of miles of hard-surfaced roads, making community isolation a thing of the past."[19]

Whether this environment would indeed have sponsored a "new" adult education somehow different from "old" extension, and whether the Snell-Frank dream of "the fulfillment of individual and community living through education" would ever have materialized, nobody will ever know. Even as Snell

was drafting his appeal for more funds to the 1929 Legislature, forces beyond his control were at work to confront his Division more with "checking chaos" than with capitalizing on "the new leisure."

RESPONDING TO THE DEPRESSION

It was not in defining the amorphous bounds of adult education, but in meeting emergency needs that Snell's Division had its finest hour. The Depression was an earthquake whose reverberations were picked up quickly and plainly by the Division's seismographs. Snell realized promptly that here was a challenge exceeding in importance if not in significance the pursuit of culture, and he antedated the New Deal by a good two years when he made this proposition:

"Just as after the World War the University Extension Division was called upon by the federal and state governments to give educational training to returned soldiers in order that they might find a place in the new economic situation, as the government may wish again to call upon the Extension Division, this time to assist the army of unemployed in getting back into our economic fabric through educational re-training."[20]

The Extension Division was ready, Snell said, with projects which would "aid materially in the earliest possible recovery to normal conditions."

The Beginnings of the Centers. Snell's offers did not go begging. Men like W. W. Kelly of the Green Bay School Board called for programs to salvage high school graduates unable to find employment and unable to afford to go away to school. The Division met this problem in two ways: first, by encouraging local school boards in smaller cities to give scholarship assistance to high school graduates and to set aside a room in the local school where the graduates could work on University correspondence-study lessons; and second, by offering an increased number of extension classes in freshman subjects in the larger cities of the state. Most of these classes were arranged in cooperation with vocational schools. The off-campus center idea was not new. Snell had been aware of Wisconsin's need for a junior-college pattern ever since his arrival, but had met with no support on the Hill. Now, under the pressure of an emergency, the University moved out to equalize educational opportunities throughout the state and lay the groundwork for the full-fledged Extension Center System which flowered following World War II.

Adults as well as youths found "education for survival" a more impelling slogan than "education for fulfillment," and the Extension class program moved into cities never before served. During the 1932-34 biennium, 7,067 students were enrolled in Extension classes in 54 cities outside of Milwaukee.

Relief Scholarships. Part of this upsurge was due to the fact that the State Legislature came to the rescue of people whose need for education was greatest at the very moment that their ability to pay fees was at its lowest. The 1933 Legislature appropriated $30,000 for free scholarships for unemployed citizens who wanted to take extension courses. Registration opened August 1 and had to be closed October 11 when 2,530 enrollees exhausted the fund. The same Legislature also granted loans to full-time college students, and this program kept 80 Milwaukee Center students in school The Milwaukee Center gave 40 FERA jobs at $15 a month to 40 more students. The Madison headquarters had 20 FERA assignments. Under a CWA "State-Wide Experiment in Adult Education" project, the Division hired 30 field specialists to carry on demonstrations and surveys "in problems made acute by the depression."[21]

Guidance. An adult Vocational Guidance Bureau set up in 1930 at the Milwaukee Center gave assistance "to a large number of adults in their attempts to readjust themselves vocationally." The package library focus changed from "modern Italy" to "Taxation." The Bureau of Economics and Sociology lectured on "Economic Trends and the NRA," and compiled a bulletin "outlining hundreds of ways by which unemployed persons might find or create opportunities for gainful work."[22] The Bureau of Business Information lectured on "Investment Principles."

Nor was diversion neglected. During the 1933 Summer Session the Bureau of Dramatic Activities "presented 'Caliban-Tempest,' a Shakesperean masque, on the Union terrace as a finale to the annual dramatic and speech institute."[23]

Brain Trust. Not strictly an Extension project but clearly an expression of the "Wisconsin Idea" was the state "brain trust" which Governor Philip La Follette created on the pattern of his father's earlier Saturday Lunch Club and similar to the national board of experts which F.D.R. later set up. La Follette's experts included Professors Commons, Gaus, Groves, and Rauschenbush, and Aubrey Williams of the Extension-related Wisconsin Conference of Social Work.

Science Inquiry. Also "extension" in its concepts if not in location was the Science Inquiry Committee--Professors Leith, Fred, Jones, and Steenbock--appointed by Frank "as the stimulators and guides of a review of

the research work of the University in terms of its relation to the political, social, and economic problems of the time." The resulting series of bulletins on such subjects as "The University and the Erosion Problem" and "The University and the Fight Against Crime" lent a social focus to campus laboratory work and interpreted UW science to the public.

Belt-Tightening. The state appropriation to the Extension Division in 1928 was $280,000. By 1934 it had been reduced to $215,000--a 23 per cent cut. To make ends meet, the Division tried a number of devices. A Photographic Laboratory was set up to duck commerical costs. Work from other state agencies was accepted by the Duplicating Department in order to "amortize equipment." Staff members were dropped. Others took salary cuts and waivers. Fees were charged for publications, and the publications themselves took on an austere format. Income-producing projects were pushed, heavily subsidized programs cut. Medical extension was temporarily suspended. Municipal Reference Bureau functions transferred to the Legislative Reference Library in the Capitol. New types of customers, like boys in CCC camps, were sought out. To teachers and their students in 1933-34 went almost one-half million pieces of promotional literature.

If this had been the only side to the Snell story, there might have been no "Yacht Love" headlines in the Chicago Times in 1935. But forces inside and outside the University were blowing up thunderclouds of monstrous proportions, and when the rains came no public service dikes could hold back the flood of antipathy which washed Snell and Frank away and left their University like an island isolated from public trust.

Frank had liked to tell his faculty that they should be "in the prow of the boat," with "the spray of the future" in their faces. Snell was in the prow of the boat, all right, but what he got in his face was fire and brimstone.

"THE SNELL AFFAIR"

The Wisconsin of the '30s was not a calm sea in which to be sailing. The Klu Klux Klan had helped elect a governor as recently as 1926. National Guardsmen were called out to squelch a farmers' "milk strike" in April of 1933; pickets fought with the militia and were beaten back with billy clubs and tear gas. The strike was renewed in October. A farmer near Madison was

shot to death when he brought food to pickets; milk plants were dynamited, trucks overturned, milk dumped. By 1935 Phil La Follette was steam-rollering around the capitol in such high-handed fashion that even Progressive Editor William T. Evjue said "democratic processes were abandoned and an executive dictatorship was in the saddle." By 1937 the tramp of Bundist boots could be heard in the Milwaukee area.

A shrewd skipper with a stout craft and a loyal crew might have ridden out the gale, but Snell was conning a vessel riddled with dissension and cruising within range of powerful shore batteries.

In his rapid-fire reorganization, Snell had incurred the enmity of many of his own staff members and their friends. Lighty was especially bitter.

As one who described his Division as "meeting the educational needs of the adult citizens of the state which cannot be met through regular processes within the University," Snell was not a man to build friendships with residence professors committed to "regular processes." As the man who built a Milwaukee Extension Center, Snell was a persona non grata with Marquette University deans and with Madison businessmen who worried about moving the University "piecemeal" to Milwaukee.

To lobby for Extension's appropriation Snell wrote directly to Regents over the head of Frank, and appealed to Legislators over the head of the Board. Such tactics made nobody happy except Snell. Frank began to call Extension "the neck of the bottle" through which University resources flowed to the state. From anybody else the figure of speech would have been unfortunate. From Frank the choice could only have been deliberate. Snell in turn became increasingly cantankerous in his communications with Frank.

The Progressives remembered the Extension Division as "the fourth arm" of the state government. Had not its relation with "Old Bob" been one of mutual help and support? But when a call went out to the 1930 Division to participate on a committee regarding minimum wages and safety regulations for working women and children, Snell excused the Division on grounds of lack of money. Perhaps it was this sort of thing which led "Young Phil" to talk about "cleaning out the educational deadwood" on the campus.

In 1934, Snell balanced his books by dropping staff members and denying requests for research funds, particularly in Milwaukee. One of the assistant professors dismissed without warning sent an open letter to his Milwaukee colleagues. The same month--June, 1934--the Milwaukee County Federation of Teachers urged President Frank to investigate Snell's administration, and called Snell's actions regarding tenure and research "undemocratic, arbitrary,

and discriminatory." Frank sat on the matter until October and then, without Snell's knowledge, recommended that the Regents make the investigation. A Regent committee held secret hearings in Milwaukee and Madison. In March, 1935, their hearings concluded, the Regents decided to ask Snell to resign. Snell would not back down. In fact, he counterattacked, charging publicly that he had been "framed" because he had refused to countenance "subversive activities, improper conduct, and immorality." A Legislative committee got into the act. "Yellow" newspapers followed the case with avid and voluminous attention. Here was the University Extension Division, conceived as a bearer of University good tidings to all people, dragging the name of its University through the mud! Van Hise and Reber must have turned over in their graves. In April the Regents reviewed their decision of the month before and this time decided summarily to fire Snell. Frank issued a 5000-word statement justifying his action and the action of the Regents. Two years later his own dismissal was to follow the same pattern. Indeed, it was hastened by the "Snell affair."

PUBLIC RELATIONS LESSONS

The unhappy Snell era has one great recompense. It provides beautiful illustrations for Emerson Reck's "basic principles" in public relations for educators:[24]

1. Good publicity will not make up for poor public relations. Snell hired a press agent, issued flossy annual reports, planted campaign stories in newspapers and magazines. But though he spoke with the tongues of men and of angels, his pronouncements were as sounding brass because he had not charity.

2. Wide publicity may in reality lead to poor public relations. When Snell accused the hounds at his heels of immoral conduct during a lake cruise aboard a private yacht,he vaulted the University and its Extension Division onto every front page in the country, but nobody could possibly describe this as constructive coverage.

3. Public relations begins at home. In his efforts to push hard for "revitalized" Extension services to the hinterlands, Snell completely forgot that ripples of discontent and irritation radiating from professors and secretaries will ultimately be seen or heard by the general public, to the detriment of the institution.

4. The Golden Rule is the way to all public relations success. Snell placed the Extension Division above the University, boasted of his prowess at lobbying when Governor Schmedeman in 1933 recommended a 25 per cent cut in the University budget and only a 20 per cent cut for Extension. The result, Snell admitted, was "sore heads around here." In the long run an extension division must place its eggs in the all-campus basket.

5. Public relations is a way of life for an entire institution--not the job for a single individual. Even if Snell had been personally a paragon at public relations, he could not single-handedly have protected the University from the collapse in public esteem brought on by institutional policies, presidential vagaries, and the climate of the times.

6. Public relations involves the ability to take criticism, admit faults, and rectify shortcomings. If Snell had been willing quietly to resign and seek greener pastures elsewhere, he would have demonstrated a true sense of the fitness of things in university life. If Frank had been willing to swallow Snell's counter-charges without resorting to a personal attack, he would have demonstrated a loyalty to the institution greater than his loyalty to himself. Probably nothing so illustrates Frank's lack of grip on the situations with which he had to deal as this running fight carried on not in faculty debates but in newspaper headlines.

7. If a college or university is to enjoy good public relations, what it does must be in line with what it says. Snell tried too hard to give his work the glitter of absolute newness rather than to acknowledge it simply as a new stage in a long history of service to the people of the state. When people peeked beneath glowing generalitites about "adult education" and discovered something that looked very much like "extension," they began to take Snell's proclamations with a grain of salt.

8. Public relations activities are most effective when they demonstrate that the institution is keenly aware of its social and moral responsibilities. The way in which Snell's Division responded to the depression, with programs tailor-made for citizens in distress, marked a high point in kinship between people and University.

9. Public relations, like morale, is compounded of many little things. When you take a secretary away from a professor and substitute a dictaphone, you may be doing more potential damage to public relations than you can counter-act with social-welfare programs. When you make off-hand criticisms of state teachers' colleges, you may be sowing seeds of violent opposition.

When you unceremoniously shelve an old retainer, you may be hurting the feelings of a man with potent friends.

10. Public relations is first and foremost a matter of policy. An extension division which does not have the sincere support of the university president is a drifting division. Extension procedures in the absence of extension philosophy stand naked and defenseless.

Another basic principle might be added:

Public relations is an ecological phenomenon. The soundest philosophies and the truest procedures can go down before the onslaught of those social, economic, and political tides which occasionally sweep across America. Even the finest apple tree sometimes bears bitter fruit. When this happens, the only thing to do is start over again.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

The same papers which told how Snell had been "stripped of his power" announced that a new Extension Dean had been appointed--Frank O. Holt.

Frank Holt was one of those men who come along all too rarely in the history of our educational institutions, men who dedicate their lives to interpreting--"selling"--education to their fellow citizens. Holt "sold" the University of Wisconsin enthusiastically and effectively for 40 years. Whatever his official title--public school teacher, high school superintendent, registrar, dean director--Holt was always the University's ambassador of goodwill, stumping the state, shaking hands, making speeches, counselling, carrying the message of the campus night and day up and down the state to thousands of people. The University has probably never had an abler man than Frank Holt in taking the message of its accomplishments, problems, and needs to the boulevards and byways of Wisconsin. Not always appreciated by his professorial colleagues, but deeply respected and even loved by off-campus constituents--from tycoons to riveters--Holt literally gave the institution everything he had, and died in his prime. Every generation, every university needs a Holt. With him, it has a decent chance to build public interest and support; without him, it is voiceless and defenseless. He stands for effective public relations in a sense of the term.

What qualities made Frank Holt effective? First, he was a native of Wisconsin, a University alumnus, and a former schoolman. This background gave him an intimate acquaintance with the warp and woof of Wisconsin people and their history, a personal knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of

the campus and a deep loyalty to it, and a practical grasp of the hopes and needs of Wisconsin youth.

Second, Holt liked people better than books. He was a "joiner." He particularly liked students; in fact, he was enthusiastic about young people, and he never tired of saying so:

"The University student body today is cleaner, more frank, and more wholesome than it was 20 years ago"....."If the student does things today not done 20 years ago, don't blame him. Lay the fault directly before the door of his parents. Youths should not be blamed because prayer meetings in the home are a thing of the past"....."It is more probable that a young man will practice his religion while attending the University than he would if he stayed in his home community"....."No investment which the state can make will bring greater returns than a continuous flow back to its communities and farms of young men and women who possess a proper sense of values and who are grounded in the essential understandings and methods of thought in the important fields of human knowledge and achievement."[25]

Third, Holt saw the University clearly for what it was, not something remote from people, but a vital part of the life of the state: "I remind you that a state university is as definitely a part of the public school system as is any school operating at any level of the public educational program of the state." And he never forgot that it was as a teaching institution that the University meant the most to the greatest number of people: "Nothing can surpass in importance the effect of instruction upon the minds of the young men and women that an institution of higher learning sends back into the life of the state."

Fourth, Holt was a fine performer on the platform. He had a gift of phrase: "The symbol of American youth is not brown shirts or black shirts, but overalls"....."A University is not slumming educationally when it extends its services to those unable to come to the campus"....."There is one weapon that is superior to the atomic bomb--education." Not a scholar with a professional reputation in one narrow field to protect, Holt was willing to speak in popular generalities: "I cannot agree with those of cynical mind who today scoff at the recurrent regularity with which writers and speakers are discussing democracy." He had a repertoire of jokes: " 'Young man,' I said, 'Have I been speaking too long?' 'I don't know, Mr. Holt. I don't have a watch. But there's a calendar on the wall!'" And he always inter-

larded his talks with human touches: "Let me recite an incident which occured when I was registrar at the University"....."I was on the campus of the University of Ohio recently"....."When I sit with the committee that awards scholarships...."

Fifth, Holt had abiding faith in the state of Wisconsin and in his University. He was convinced that "people like to hear good things about their University." He was sure that "the people of Wisconsin will never accept a mediocre University," and that "the Legislature recognizes the manifold services and needs of the University." He believed implicitly that "the lot of the common man has been improved immeasurably by the results of investigation and research in University laboratories." He always maintained that "our faculty members are now of such quality that educators everywhere rank our state university as one of the great institutions of higher learning of the nation." He felt that "the great highway of education" was the finest expression of democracy, and that his University could always "trust the people of Wisconsin."

Sixth, Holt was wedded to the Van Hise ideal of the service-university, what Holt called "the beautifully democratic conception" that "every citizen of the state is a potential University student." "We need above all else," he said, "a new and broader conception of universal public education, a conception which recognized the fact that to maintain the democratic way, the crying need is for an adult population adequately informed and consequently intelligent about the issues which they are called upon to decide." He called for programs "of increasing service to every segment of our economic order....which will result in cooperation with groups which can benefit from University contacts and offerings." To house these programs he plumped for a center of continuation study, and he rang doorbells in search of funds for the University of Wisconsin Foundation. In Holt's eyes, such programs were not only educational service, they were effective and "worthwhile public relations."

Above all, as E. B. Fred said, Holt was a living symbol of the "Wisconsin idea," the idea of unselfish service to the citizens of Wisconsin. He was an officer in a dozen important civic bodies. He was always available because he knew that "no single procedure approaches in effectiveness personal contacts and personal relations." In the last two years of his life he told educational facts to nearly 80,000 people in 100 different areas before 290

different business, social, and educational groups. Like the life of his University, Frank Holt's life was public service.

This was the man who was chosen to succeed Chester Snell. With one exception, it was a wise choice. Holt was well suited slowly to mend the torn linen inside Extension and rapidly to patch University fences around the state. But Holt had one drawback. Because he was not a "solid" scholar, because he was willing to speak in platitudes, because he shook hands with everybody, because he believed the University was more for the students than for the scientists, because he was "popular," because he was personally ambitious, because he had never had an opportunity to stand four-square for academic freedom, because he had come up from seconday education, because he was an administrator and not a professor--because, in short, of the very fact that he was more a "front" man than a typical academician, Holt did not command the wholehearted support of the residence faculty. He was acceptable if he knew his place, but he was always just a little suspect. This ivy curtain between Holt and the professors was to prevent the Division during his tenure from meeting Creese's third requirement--a clear and working arrangement with each of the University's schools and colleges.

In 1935 this was not the major shortcoming. The big hole in the wall then was off-campus rapport, and Holt was the man to pick up the pieces.

The Campus. To support him in his job in the outfield, Holt drew a new catcher, a new shortstop, and a new pitcher at home base.

In 1936 Harry Stuhldreher took over as UW football coach and athletic director. "The Spirit Is Back" read the pep-rally banners, and Harry made it seem as if there really had been a change on the campus. Harry never produced a championship football team--although he came within a single touchdown of doing so in 1942--but in his heyday Harry was nonetheless a superb travelling salesman for the University. It was not a graveyard, he said, and stayed 13 years to prove it.

The same year John Berge took over as secretary of the moribund Wisconsin Alumni Association. He inherited a membership of only 2500. In less than six months he had added 1100 new members. He put new spark into the Wisconsin Alumnus and created a whole series of other public-relations publications. He found a University afraid of its shadow and put it on the NBC Blue Network to buck up its morale. Throughout the state he organized alumni clubs to "promote by organized effort the best interests of the University."

In 1937 Clarence A. Dykstra took over as president of the University. Dykstra set about mending the University fences which alumnus Richard Lloyd Jones said were "as full of holes as a Swiss cheese." Dykstra had several sound posts with which to work. All the fury of Dr. Frank's latter days had somewhat obscured the fact that the University had continued to make progress, at least so far as progress can be measured by national boards and rating sheets. H. G. Wells had recently labeled Wisconsin "one of the great institutions of learning in the United States." The Atlantic Monthly had just rated Wisconsin 10th nationally among colleges and universities, although admitting that "it has lost some of the distinction it held during the great days of Van Hise." And an educational board had given high approval to 31 Wisconsin departments, a record exceeded by no other American university.

Dykstra also set about to do some building. He managed to get federal money for more dormitories and for a Wisconsin Union Theater. Already experienced at politics, Dykstra also patched University relations under the Capitol dome. When Republican Governor Julius Heil unseated Philip La Follette in 1938 he declared, in reference to the University, that "something is smouldering somewhere and I'm going to clean up. I'm going to cut out this cancerous growth or kill the patient." But after he had wiped out the old Board of Regents and replaced it with nine men of his own choice, Governor Heil said no more about budget cuts and campus Communists.

Dykstra also cultivated his students, and "big Dyke" and his wife became familiar and popular figures at undergraduate affairs. In general, the students got back on the team.*

The Country. Besides accruing this improved infield combination, Holt also drew better playing weather. Americans had decided they really had nothing to fear but fear itself and had settled down to a long period of wedded bliss with the New Deal. If the Depression were not actually over, it at least was under cover. Things were getting better because we were

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*"Sometimes I don't know what to make of Prexy Dykstra. Sometimes I think he is just a professional handshaker....But more often I know better. I know he is a thinker, an educator, and administrator--doing his best to define the University's role in crisis."--The author, in The Daily Cardinal, May 4, 1941.

planning it that way. Hitler was only a militant edition of Charlie Chaplin, and it couldn't happen here anyway because Huey Long was dead. Beer was back, bread lines were gone. The title of the period's most popular novel, Gone With the Wind, somehow typified the end of tragedy and the entrance of romantic drama.

VI.

GOING TO WAR

To be effective, a public relations program should stand its institution in good stead in times of comparative normalcy and should also serve signally in times of stress. Extension had given the University of Wisconsin an invaluable tool with which to meet depression problems. It was also to develop into a means of vastly improving the University's position as an intellectual arsenal of war.

The year 1936, says Leo Gurko, was "an interlude in which one could almost hear the country pause for breath between the first rush of recovery from the depression and the first of the great foreign crises that were to end in the Second World War."[1] The New Deal had come to the end of its first rapid-fire experiments. The Spanish Civil War had not yet dented the American aplomb. Deep snows, heat waves, and torrential rains attracted more attention than the Rossevelt-Landon campaign.

In the middle of 1936, the people of Wisconsin paused noticeably.* They sat in Camp Randall Stadium on the University campus to look back at the road they had traveled and to peer ahead into a misty future. The occasion was a "Cavalcade of Wisconsin History," a territorial centennial pageant written and directed by the Extension Division's Ethel Rockwell. What the people of Wisconsin saw portrayed was in essence the forces that had shaped their nation.

THE U.S.-WISCONSIN

The story of Wisconsin that Miss Rockwell narrated was the story of America in miniature.[2] As Christopher Columbus of Genoa sailed the Atlantic to the new world, Jean Nicolet of France sailed across Lake Michigan and stepped ashore at Green Bay. Both Columbus and Nicolet made their voyages under the same delusion--that just beyond the water barrier they had crossed lay the Orient.

The eastern lake shore of Wisconsin, like the eastern seaboard of the United States, was the first explored and mapped, and was the site of the earliest white settlements, but the restless tides of migration soon led to the charting and settlement of the western lands, as they did in America as a whole. Joliet and Marquette pushed on to discover Wisconsin's bordering

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* 1936 also marks the year in which the acquaintanceship of the author with the people and events in this case study becomes first-hand.

waterway, the Mississippi, in a parallel to Lewis and Clark's expedition to the Pacific Coast of the United States.

Wisconsin's history, like America's, reflected the struggles for colonial territory by European powers, and the region which is now the state was ruled successively by three countries: The Spanish, the French, and the British.

As the eastern seaboard of the United States early became an important commercial and industrial area, so on Wisconsin's eastern lake shore a similar development occurred. In mining, however, the lead region of southwest Wisconsin drew "Badgers" as early as the 1820's, in a parallel to the gold rush to the West two decades later.

The first permanent settlers and community builders in New England were predominantly of Anglo-Saxon stock. Similarly, Yankees played a leading role in the early settlement and development of Wisconsin. Later came waves of immigrants past Ellis Island and on to Wisconsin--Germans, Irish, and Norwegians, Poles, Swedes, and Italians, and dozens of other nationalities. Many of these immigrants and their descendents rose to positions of importance. Wisconsin, like America, was a hybrid culture, richer and more vigorous than any single strain.

Wisconsin was a laboratory for many political and educational experiments with nationwide implications. National slavery and seccession issues led to the birth of the Republican Party at Ripon, Wisconsin, in 1854. Later, Progressivism introduced economic and social reforms in Wisconsin which were later adopted nationally. The first kindergarten and the first university extension division were Wisconsin innovations which spread throughout the country.

The nation's wars linked Wisconsin to the country. Lucius Fairchild and the "Iron Brigade" at Gettysburg, the "Red Arrow" and the "Rainbow" Divisions in the Meuse-Argonne, Billy Mitchell, two MacArthurs, the inventor of the submarine detector--these were only representative of thousands of stout Wisconsin hearts.

It was the main currents of the nation's history which unfolded themselves those hot July nights in 1936 on the Camp Randall greensward.

With more accurate prophesy than she knew, Miss Rockwell climaxed her calvacade in a flaring of skyrockets and a waving of flags. To the spectators in the Stadium at the time, the thunder and lightning were symbolic only of past Armageddons successfully mastered. But from hindsight they can see those

blazing rockets and dancing flags as signaling "the end of lull and the beginning of those events which were to have a great positive influence on the thinking of the country from then until Pearl Harbor. The first was the outbreak of the civil war in Spain."[3] From July 1936 on, the country was "like a boat that starts in a quiet part of the river, gets whirled into a rougher and rougher current until its occupants can hear the noise of a great waterfall ahead."[4]

THE U.S.-WISCONSIN ARSENAL

In getting America ready--mentally and physically--to shoot the falls of World War II, university extension divisions were to play key roles. Going into the period of "build-up" between 1936 and 1941, what was the status of university extension in its 30th year?[5]

The universities had five approaches to extension: (1) regular campus courses in evening and off-campus schools; (2) general courses, pretty much on the college level but not so meticulously measured in units of credit, to satisfy the special needs of adult students; (3) postgraduate, professional, and technical training through institutes, conferences, and short courses; (4) correspondence study; and (5) a wide range of informal school, community, and group services.

Regular Campus Courses. Extension divisions had become the vehicles for extending literally the teaching work of their universities, providing facilities at a distance for the very kind of education offered on the campus itself. Such courses in extension were equivalent to those of the regular curricula, equivalent in title, content, and accomplishment, carrying like credits, conducted by the same instructors or by instructors no less carefully selected and no less qualified academically than those who worked on the campus. The student who could not afford to go to college, the student whose college studies had been interrupted, or the student who had foregone college and now regretted the lack of an education, might complete his education without giving up his job or leaving his home town.

In courses for credit at the larger universities astonishingly great numbers of extension students were enrolled: 7,000 in the University of California, 5,000 in Indiana University, 5,000 in the University of Wisconsin, 10,000 in three institutions in Philadelphia, 50,000 in eight colleges in metropolitan New York.

Some of these courses were being presented as isolated offerings in isolated communities. The extension division of Indiana University, for example, was willing to send an instructor, weekly or fortnightly, into any Indiana community where a group of 20 or more would get together. Other courses were being offered as part of coordinated programs in permanent extension centers. Indiana operated four--at Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Calumet, and South Bend. The Indianapolis Center had an enrollment in excess of 2,000. Some of these centers had matured into "University Colleges"--separate, downtown divisions of universities whose main campuses were on the outskirts of large cities. This was the pattern at Southern California, Chicago, Northwestern, and Rutgers.

Adult Education. Extension divisions were also in the business of extending university-type work in something other than university packages. The fundamental idea here was that courses for adults should not merely duplicate those offered on the college campus, but should be adapted in content and teaching method to the needs of adults, with "certificate credit" replacing "degree credit." As in the case of regular course work, some of these courses were isolated offerings in isolated spots. Others represented the evening program at extension centers. Still others involved semi-independent installations, like the University of Minnesota's Center for Continuation Study.

Professional and Technical Training. Regular and general courses were somewhat in the nature of "remedial" work for youths and adults outside the pattern of formal education. There were other classes of students waiting--students who could bring to seminars a hard-won knowledge of the law and government, of business, of medical practice, and of all the arts and trades. For them, extension divisions offered professional and technical short courses, conferences, and institutes, typically in close cooperation with the appropriate professional societies, trade associations, or unions. The plan of procedure was simple. Men engaged in structural engineering, for example, might feel that recent developments in their profession had left them unable to compete on equal terms with youngsters just graduating from college, or that changes in materials or processes had made it necessary for them to devote special study to their chosen vocation. Through a representative, they would make known their needs to an extension division director. The latter would then consult the appropriate university faculty members and form a joint

committee to work out a program of instruction. When all the plans were made, the university would send members of the group an announcement of the course. Assembled in campus dormitories and conference rooms, within easy reach of libraries and laboratories, the engineers and the professors could utilize teaching procedures and techniques better suited to adult education than those of the factory or the traditional classroom itself.

Correspondence Study. Study by mail had largely gone its own way, little influenced by the trend toward informal instruction and postgraduate training. Enrollments in extension classes were not much more than two to one in favor of credit courses, but the ratio was seven to one in the correspondence departments. Forty-four of the 52 member institutions of the NUEA were offering some kind of instruction by mail. Enrollments for college credit predominated everywhere; the University of Wisconsin had 4000 active enrollments in such courses. Competition from proprietary correspondence schools was a continual harassment, as was the indifference of university administrative officers and professors in residence. Columbia University closed its home study department in 1936 because "under present conditions....an endowment is necessary." The average age of the credit student was 32, of the non-credit group 27. About a third of the whole number lived in rural communitites or small towns. Almost a third were teachers and schoolmasters. Students came from the same social groups, from the same kinds of families from which resident college students came. Nearly 60 per cent were working for degrees or for some kind of vocational certification. The direction of extension by mail "was still sidewards rather than upwards or downwards."

Informal Services. By no means so circumscribed in its offerings and impact was the wide range of miscellaneous services extended by universities to schools, communities, and various groups. Package libraries, visual aids, lyceum bookings, reference bureaus, socio-economic counselling, guidance in music and drama, testing of all kinds, educational radio, schools for workers--these and other bureau activities were grist for extension's mill, seeking ever to bring seminar and soil into mutually beneficial juxtaposition.

Here in 1936, as in 1914, extension divisions were ready as powerful weapons of national defense and preparedness propaganda, ready to be dedicated to what the Army was to call "I&E"--information and education about defense today, offense tomorrow, and the brave new world beyond. Like the cadre of

a combat division, each extension division was a beautifully poised home-front fighting machine. It had organization and methodology. It had prestige. It had flexibility in format and philosophy. It had experience. All it needed was money, men, and mission.

The money came through the United States Office of Education--$15,000,000 appropriated in June, 1940, for training in courses "of less than college grade." To this was added later a second appropriation of $44,000,000. The students came from all walks of life. By June, 1941, in just a year, 900,000 people had gone through these courses. The mission was the combination of fear, high strategy, imperialism, and missionary zeal which Henry R. Luce called "The American Century": "Whoever wins the war now joined will be charged with building the future world. We would like our country, our kind of ideas, our society to share in that work, rather than to announce that our role in the world is over, and sit back to allow other forces and other philosophies to determine our destiny for us."[6]

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Up to its neck in functioning as an arsenal of democracy was Wisconsin Extension. Under President Dykstra and Dean Holt the University and its Extension Division followed four basic policies in the years between 1937 and 1941.

The first was to shore up the University on campus, despite shrunken budgets, and to shore up the University off campus, despite the scars of Frank and the depression: "The University does not intend to walk backward into the future."[7]

The second policy was to lead the state toward a recognition of the international facts of life and the necessity for military preparedness. It was to dramatize the situation that Dykstra--in July, 1940,--appointed a faculty committee whose immediate purpose was "to evaluate what the university is doing and should do for national defense."[8]

The third policy was to lead the state toward "intellectual and moral preparedness," toward "unity, a national goal, and a devoted and loyal citizenship," aware of its responsibilities as well as its blessings.[9]

The fourth policy was to protect the freedom of the University against "totalitarian influences:" "Unless we preserve the freedom of the University there will be no freedom outside of its walls." The campus was to be kept "both lighthouse and experiment station," true to its "sifting and winnowing process."[10]

The University, in short, was a tremendous reservoir of democratic thought, skills, and resources. The way to defend America was to put the University to work, not to wrap its ivy about it and hide it from reality: "We defend freedom by using it. It is as important to have democracy fight for the country as to have the country fight for democracy."[11]

In the implementation of these institutional policies the Extension Division was to become deeply involved.

SHORING UP THE UNIVERSITY

An important aspect of shoring up the University after 1938 consisted of making peace with the Republicans. In this regard, Dykstra was personally in a difficult position. He had been handpicked by the La Follettes--the brothers, their brain trust, and their Board of Regents. A year later the La Follette Dynasty collapsed under quixotic attack of that Stalwart knight errant, Julius P. Heil. Off the Board of Regents went the Gales and the Gundersons. Onto the Board came the Glovers and the Sensenbrenners. Who could talk turkey to them? Dykstra couldn't. Rightly or wrongly, he was too closely identified with Progressivism. Frank Holt could. He was the campus war horse who had been saying the right things for the time and shaking hands with the right people for 10 years:

Did the University have a "sound" philosophy? "The American republic, free enterprise, and Christianity are one and the same thing."

Max Otto an atheist? "I have been a neighbor of Max Otto's for 10 years and I can tell you he is a fine Christian gentleman."

Campus Communists? "More University students engage in religious activities than in any other form of activity."

Sex? "There is less promiscuity on the campus than in any Wisconsin town that I know about."

Beer in the Union? "Repeal is the law of the land. Isn't it better to provide our students with recreational outlets in places under state control?"

The American dream? "American parents have faith that the best that they can do for their children is to afford them the finest educational facility and advantage."

The University a country club? "Over sixty per cent of the student body is either partly or wholly self-supporting."

Equality of opportunity? "The University reaches out from the Madison campus to the remotest corners of the state."

Corny? Yes. But it was a true story, in a way, and the kind of story the people of Wisconsin wanted to hear, after years of sensational headlines. From Frank Holt, native son, erstwhile school superintendent, sincere, respectable, they drank it up. Slowly the tide of public opinion turned. In 1939 Governor Heil had told Dykstra to go back to Bascom Hall and "sharpen your pencil." In 1941 he said "I want to see Wisconsin have the best University in America."

Holt did not bring about the transformation single-handedly, of course. But as chairman of the University's new "Committee on Public Relations" he filled a key role.

Shoring up the University involved not just public-relations talk. It involved shifts in Extension programs which would place less drain on already strained finances and at the same time widen the avenues of off-campus service. The Bureau of Dramatic Activities and the Wisconsin Business Survey had to be dropped entirely, and men were removed from work with Radio Station WHA, because the emphasis had to be on income-producing activities. The University itself existed for a time on deficiency appropriations, and even got to the stage of ripping out hundreds of professor's telephones. Division self-support rose from the 18 per cent of the 1918 period to 60 per cent in 1939.

High school correspondence courses were one of the services which the Division pushed with renewed vigor. Dean Holt also pushed the passage of a bill legalizing payment of correspondence fees by local school districts or operating boards. He developed the usual Extension contacts with the high schools into University and College Days, to which the high schools invited the representatives of various institutions. The expansion of freshman center class work also was stressed. In 1935 the Legislature had established University scholarships to be awarded outstanding high school students. The following years, Holt succeeded in making the scholarships applicable to extension center work. In the school year of 1936-37, 13 extension centers, excluding Milwaukee, had a roster of 304 students, and 132 more students were enrolled in Extension programs conducted in cooperation with three normal schools.

TOWARD MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

The University of Wisconsin staff was "intellectually at war" long before the populace shouldered arms. As early as July, 1940, President Dykstra

called for "a system of selective compulsory training and service." "We must have universal prepardeness if democracy is to live," he said.[12]

Only a week later Professor Grayson L. Kirk was even more belligerent:

"I am in favor of a huge armament program so that we can throw down the blue chips in a hurry if we have to....There is a tendency for all great powers to become involved in all major wars. We may be able to remain aloof this time, but I doubt it....Like ostriches with their heads in the sand, the position of the isolationist is not only undignified but extremely vulnerable."[13]

These men were by no means voicing the majority sentiment in Wisconsin. The student daily was being more representative when it declared that "the United States must keep out, no matter what arguments are used or with what situation we are confronted."[14] Gradually, however, public opinion caught up with the opinion molders. By winter the Daily Cardinal was interventionist in its editorial policy, reflecting a switch in public thinking:

"We need many things today, but none more than the old resolve running in a blaze across the land. We need--college students particularly--the fire and faith of our ancestors. We must 'mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.' The words are old, and as out of style as buff-and-blue. But today, as in 1776, they are the words of freedom."[15]

....The isolationists are done. They will still talk, but their counsel has not availed us. They succeeded in keeping us out of the organization of the world for peace, which with our support might have been made effective. Now, because neither peace nor liberty seems to be had by attempted monasticism in a world grown small, we go back to pick up the arms we laid down in 1918."[16]

Because there was a social goal in view and no longer any social means of achieving it except war, the professors had recommended fighting rather than recommend that the goal be surrendered. Slowly but surely the public followed along. In the defense of the American future, the University had performed the first of many services. More quickly followed.

As early as 1938, Wisconsin physicists had been fussing around in the basement of the Chemistry Building with something called an electrostatic generator, a machine which was later to be shipped to Los Alamos, New Mexico, and play a role in the development of the atomic bomb. By the fall of 1940, the national defense program was making big inroads in the medical, physics,

chemistry, and engineering staffs. President Dykstra himself was borrowed by Washington to serve as civilian chairman of the draft and then as a member of the National Defense Mediation Board. He returned to the campus in November of 1941 to find his faculty riddled by the loss of over 100 scientists and technicians.

The Extension Division began playing a role in preparedness in 1940. It administered a CAA 12-week course in ground work and flight instruction, and it participated with the U.S. Office of Education and the Wisconsin College of Engineering in teaching courses to help meet the shortage of engineers and to train supervisors and foremen in how to break in new employees. "The issues are clear," the Division said in a special bulletin. "Hitler has made them emphatic."

TOWARD RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

In the late 1930s adults were worried about young people, about their apparent lack of enthusiasm for flag, home, and mother; about their "critical attitude toward things as they are, a tendency that almost seems to indicate a willingness akin to blasting at the rock of ages in the field of economic and political thought;"[17] about their cavalier attention to local government, where democracy had to work if it was going to work anywhere. Adults were worried, too, about the ominous roads down which the youths of Europe were marching.

"There never was a time," said Holt, "when the possibility of survival of democracy was at a lower ebb....There is a significant need for youth in America to understand what democracy means....to have as full understanding as possible of its blessings and of the duties and responsibilities of the recipients of those blessings."[18]

Dykstra called for "some ritual which bridges the gap between the novitiate and the full-fledged participators...We must be certain that the enemy we face in this confused world is not within us. If we can be sound internally, we are twice armed as we watch lightnings on the horizon and hear the roll of distant guns."[19]

Extension Professor Roy Colbert came up with the ritual. Growing out of a roundtable discussion on municipal administration in Manitowoc in 1938, Professor Colbert evolved a series of weekly meetings to which future voters were invited. The discussions were designed to develop a "practical understanding of governmental organization," to create "community spirit," and to

widen citizen participation in government. The culmination of this "Training for Citizenship" was Citizenship Day, the third Sunday in May, "the occasion upon which native-born new voters are inducted into the electorate with appropriate ceremony."[20] From Manitowoc County in 1939, the program spread around the state in 1940, a year in which approximately 40,000 residents reached the age of 21. In 1941, Citizenship Day was made mandatory by state law.

A related Extension project of the time was a partly federally-financed forum program aimed at "developing the morale necessary for the most effective support of the national defense program and to prepare our people for the perplexing and critical problems which will confront them when peace comes."[21]

Were these programs effective? There is one clue. In both the Civil War and in World War I, the Wisconsin record had been marred by draft riots. In Wisconsin in 1940, October 16 passed without a murmur.

TOWARD ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Anticipating Dykstra's stand for University liberty, the Extension Division had struck a blow just prior to Dykstra's arrival. A young Extension history instructor* in Wausau had made a schoolhouse speech on Armistice Day, 1936, in the course of which he suggested that Abraham Lincoln had, in calculated fashion, slowly but surely led his nation into the Civil War. The idea was no novelty in campus history seminars, but it seemed like very dangerous thinking to Legionnaires in Wausau. The vocational school authorities there summarily suspended Williams' classes. Dean Holt announced he would defend Williams. The principals in the situation met in the office of Professor Paul Knaplund, chairman of the University history department. Threats to send no replacement for Williams and a consequent credit loss by his former students caused the Wausau board to reconsider its position. Williams was permitted to resume his teaching. "Sifting and winnowing" had won again.

Holt did not wear academic freedom on his sleeve. Where public relations far outweighed the issues, he chose to fight another day. When Kenosha parents protested the use of Thomas Wolfe's "immoral" Look Homeward Angel in a Center English class, Holt recommended that offended students be allowed to substitute Giants in the Earth. When some cities objected to a circuit instructor

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* T. Harry Williams, who later became a distinguished professor and author.

who was of Japanese extraction,* Holt settled the problem by placing the young man in an area unmarked by opposition to Japanese. Holt personally despised such intolerance. He took great pride in the fact that during his association with the campus YMCA, its student president was a Catholic and the winner of its "Christian character" cup was a Jew. Holt's public testimony to the principle of academic freedom could well take its place beside the University's famous plaque itself:

"You cannot insulate the mind of youth from the world of new ideas. You cannot hermetically seal their minds against alluring economic doctrines, intriguing social philosophies, or attractive political programs. Youth will from some source be influenced in their reactions to the major issues of their time, and it is because I believe in the democratic system, it is because I am eager that democracy shall be safe and permanent, that I want my son and daughter to study every 'ism' of the day under men and women who are scholars in their fields, who have no purpose to propagandize, who do not seek to indoctrinate, who have no axe to grind. That is the influence brought to bear on the campus of the modern college and university."[22]

WAR

The crash of bombs at Pearl Harbor had immediate effects in Madison. There was not even a thought of the University hibernating for the duration. The regular student body--in residence and in extension--might be evaporating, but in their places came rank on rank of uniformed personnel, standing reveille, marching to class, messing in long lines--turning the University into more of a camp than a campus.

Special Training Programs. During World War II the University of Wisconsin and the Extension Division gave special training to more than 13,000 men and women for the Armed Forces. There were 100 Navy officers in diesel engineering, 200 mechanics for the Army Air Corps, 600 meteorologists for the Air Corps, 800 Navy aviation cadets and Navy engineers, Marine glider pilots and 600 other men in "civilian" pilot training. In another group

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*S. I. Hayakawa, who later also became a distinguished professor, author, and a university president.

were more than 11,000 sailors trained in radio code and communications--the largest Naval radio school in the United States. Given the same course work as the men, and later replacing them in shore stations, were 850 WAVES, 100 SPARS, and 100 Marine Auxiliaries. Navy cooks and bakers learned their trade in US classrooms and kitchens.

Through its department of military science, the University operated the Army Specialized Training Program for 2,500 soldiers. Some 100 Army officers took Civil Affairs Training at Madison. The Navy's V-1, V-5, V-7, and V-12 enlistment programs filled other classrooms. Under the federal Engineering, Science and Management War Training program, the Extension Division organized more than 500 classes, enrolling more than 10,000 students representing over 600 Wisconsin businesses and industries in 37 cities of the state. The Medical School had a speed-up course in physical therapy. More than 150 of the University's scientists left for wartime assignments. Those who stayed home made such contributions as Q-176 penicillin, a bullet-finder, dicumarol, synthetic rubber processes, nitrate manufacturing processes, and fundamental discoveries in atomic fission.

Most of the U.W.'s special training programs were administered by Holt's Extension Division. The Division's biggest wartime job, however, came in supporting the correspondence study program of the Armed Forces.

USAFI. As early as 1940, with the Wisconsin National Guard in camp in Louisiana, Holt saw men in uniform as a prime correspondence study market. The Legislature was asked to finance free courses for Wisconsin citizens in the Armed Forces. Advertisements went to the Army and Navy Journal, draft boards, and camp newspapers. By 1941 the Army itself had developed plans for partially financing correspondence courses taken by its personnel from approved schools. The University of Wisconsin Extension Division was one of those so designated.

Just 17 days after Pearl Harbor, the War Department authorized the establishment of the Army's own correspondence institute. Four months later, in April, 1942, the Army Institute was formally opened at Madison, with the Army doing the administrative work and Wisconsin Extension professors doing the teaching, under a contract between the Regents and the War Department. In September of 1942 the facilities of the Army Institute were made available to the Navy, and in February of 1943 the name Army Institute was changed to the United States Armed Forces Institute.

The educational offerings of USAFI in its early days were limited to a core of 64 courses, largely in the technical-vocational area, but the offerings expanded rapidly. By 1944 courses were available at the high school and college levels. Besides the instructional service, USAFI also purchased courses from the Extension Division and issued paper-bound editions of standard texts.

Enrollments grew from 639 in March of 1942, to 101,535 in March of 1952. It was all part of a far-sighted plan "to provide common services and materials by which Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force may assure for members of their commands educational opportunities in subjects normally taught in civilian academic institutions, in order that the individual may render efficient service in his present assignment, increase his capabilities for assuming greater responsibility, and, in his leisure time, satisfy his intellectual desires."[23]

P. R. DIVIDENDS

For the University, USAFI gave the Extension Division an immediate and sizable stake in the prosecution of the war and offered long hours of toil to professors who might otherwise have felt "out of things." The long-range contribution of USAFI was to be even more significant: the federal contract brought unemcumbered revenues the likes of which the Division had never before dreamed. In this roundabout way, federal money was to be responsible directly for the postwar flourishing of the Division. The federal contract brought, too, the inevitable problems of dealing with Washington red tape and with Washington witch hunts for red-tinged teachers. But these trends belong to a later era. Prior to 1945, the UW-USAFI story was one of enlightened generals with a public-service idea and dedicated instructors with public-service traits and techniques.

The other UW projects which marked the war years--special training schools, compulsory ROTC, enlistment programs, research, scrap drives, blood donations, free publication to men in the Armed Forces, home nursing, a student War Council, a faculty Emergency Invention Development Council, the year-round calendar--all helped to build the prestige of the University to the point where the 1945 Legislature not only granted a thumping operating budget but also an $8 million building fund. And these projects also helped to give purpose to a student body which five years before had been at odds and ends.

The University had turned emergency and adversity into a pay-off in public relations. Never again in Wisconsin would higher education be consi-

dered an ornament. It had abundantly demonstrated its stature as a necessity.

CHANGE IN COMMAND

The close of World War II, like the end of World War I, corresponded with a change in University commands. Dr. Dykstra resigned to become provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, and his title passed to Edwin Broun Fred, who had been on the campus since 1913 as bacteriology professor, dean of the Graduate School, and dean of the College of Agriculture. Frank Holt was promoted to a custom-created office as Director of Public Service, and his title passed to Lorenz H. Adolfson, who had been a member of the Extension political science staff since 1937.

The forces of the '30s and '40s had been bringing the Extension Division and its mother University closer together. The Division had become more like the University. The rise of the mass educament media--typified by Elmer Davis on the radio, the Milwaukee Journal's Sunday supplements in newspapering, and the March of Time on film--had robbed the Division somewhat of open areas in which to range. Its credit work via classes, centers, and correspondence study was simple residence work torn from its traditional surroundings. The rise of mass government publications and field offices had lent a respectability or at least an inevitability to extension processes which made the Division more acceptable on the Hill. The University, on the other hand, had become more like the Division. War training programs had turned the campus upside-down, introducing flexibility of outlook and structure where inflexibility had been the rule. All the professional schools and colleges had developed public-service programs of their own. Even the mere fact that Extension offices were scattered hither and yon and that Extension staffers rubbed elbows daily with their residence colleagues made the old ivy curtain less dense. Regents and deans had seen what Holt's "worthwhile public relation" could do in terms of building public interest and support. Fred and Adolfson were both "team players."

The stage was set, in short, for a restoration of Creese's three key requirements for vibrant Extension operations.

Fred. By any quantitive measurement--student enrollment, size and strength of faculty, operating budget, building construction, alumni support--the tenure of E. B. Fred as president of the University of Wisconsin will go

down in history as one of the brightest in the annals of the institution. Speaking qualitatively, the Max Ottos might protest that "the social idealism and the pioneeing spirit....is not alive"[24] under Fred, but that is open to argument.

What factors operated to make the Fred era an era of comparative good feeling in all the relationships between the University and its publics?

Externally, the 1945-55 decade was a period of relative quiescense in Wisconsin politics. Stalwart Republicans held sway in the state capitol, and they dealt generously with their Stalwart Republican friends on the University Board of Regents. Between 1945 and 1955, too, the state was prosperous, the governmental coffers well-filled, and hence Legislative largesse came easily. While relinquishing none of its hardwon academic freedom, the University used its privileges with more discretion than in some periods and consequently did not raise so many hackles on conservative necks. Furthermore, building on wartime prestige and wartime contacts, the University went out of its way to develop programs of direct service to business and industry, paralleling its older programs for labor and agriculture, and these projects paid dividends in terms of support from influential and well-heeled quarters. Championship football and basketball teams also helped. A convenient Centennial celebration focused the attention of state and national educators and journalists on the campus and brought much the same kind of editorial praise which enhanced the Van Hise era. Perhaps most significant of all, the wartime emphasis on training and the postwar GI Bill gave a tremendous impetus to public interest in higher education, and brought to Madison strong demands for varied educational services in many directions.

Internally, with adequate funds for salaries, buildings, research projects, service programs, and student agencies to pass around, the University was protected from those bickerings and back-stabbings which arise largely out of short rations. Senior faculty members returned from wartime assignments with platoons of outstanding young recruits in tow. The housing and the promotions to hold them in Madison were forthcoming, not to mention the continuing presence of the University's "sublime" location. Postwar students were less inclined to "raise hell" than their predecessors. Grants and revenue-producing programs made many University sub-divisions less vulnerable to political control. Enough professors were "University minded" to keep schools and departments from riding off in all directions. And "that plaque on the wall" was a continuing shield against reactionary Regents, deans, and dons.

The catalytic agent responsible for keeping these external and internal forces singing the same tune was President Fred.[25] Fred had his shortcomings and made his mistakes, but these served only to make his sterling attributes shine the more brightly. When the historians write the history of the University in its second century, they will accord to Fred's days a place along with those of Bascom and Van Hise in the ranks of Wisconsin's greatest epochs. They will have, however, a difficult job documenting Fred's personal contributions to University progress, because the very factors which made him effective did not make him a dramatic leader.

Personally, Fred was modest and self-effacing almost to a fault. He was not show-piece and knew it. He went about his job quietly, unassumingly--"not an ornament, not an accomplished speaker, not a man to electrify, he is essentially a worker." Furthermore, as instructor, professor, and dean at Wisconsin since 1913, he knew the University intimately--its standard operating procedures, the traditional rights of its most democratic of faculties, the petty departmental jealousies, the sacred cows. This natural bent and this deep-grained experience meant that Fred scrupulously tried to appear never to have an idea of his own, or at least never to push a plan or project which had not seemed to originate in a student resolution, a faculty committee, a public request, or a Regent debate. All of his speeches--what few he made--admittedly were ghost-written.

Fred operated, in short, by standing two ancient proverbs on their respective heads. The first is the one about too many cooks spoiling the broth. He remarked once in a conversation about his war work that a good director of research does not direct; he does best when he guides, stimulates, and prods. Fred seems to have applied this rule to university presidents. He did not issue orders or publish proclamations. He found it hard, on the other hand, to delegate authority. Instead, he consulted, advised, suggested. He approached a decision cautiously, telephoning a half-dozen interested parties, assigning tasks to faculty groups, even sounding out whoever might happen to come into his office. Finally, he got a few key men together around the great table in his office. But when he eventually reached a decision, it was his own and it stuck.

The second maxim which Dr. Fred contradicted is the one about never putting off until tomorrow what you can do today. Fred believed that most tough problems, given adequate time to ripen, will not be hard to solve. As a scientist he liked to test things out, to look at every problem from

all 360 degrees. He didn't believe except he saw--personally. Some problems he avoided coming to grips with almost too long. But once he pitched in, likey a puppy with a bone, he worried the job to a finish.

This cautious approach was not without its critics. But by and large his colleagues and the public at large were sympathetic. They knew that Dr. Fred by nature moved carefully, but that he was a conscientious, honest, sincere gentleman without an ounce of deceit in his makeup. They knew that the mills of the University might be grinding slowly but that they were grinding exceeding fine.

If his administration was administration by committee, what did Fred himself stand for? First, he believed that a university which is not a great center of research is a university which has nothing to teach and nothing to extend. He stood for balance between teaching, research, and public service, yes, but balance interpreted as meaning that teaching and service are not to get in the way of research. Second, he believed that the size of a university is nothing to worry about, provided that a university "grow soundly in all its aspects." Third, he believed that if you can educate the Board of Regents the public will take care of itself, and he spent day after day bringing Regents around to his point of view, but he didn't seize many opportunities for molding public opinion in the mass. Fourth, he had the scientist's deep sense of the efficacy of academic freedom. He accepted every citizen's right to protest what he considered a mistake in fact or an unfair or biased judgment of course of action. But he rejected the right of any citizen to ask that the University be muzzled, or restricted, in its scholarly inquiry: "The citizens of the state must give the University freedom to explore and discuss the issues of the day." Fifth, his loyalty to the university in general and the University of Wisconsin in particular was intense, and he saw any "integration" board superimposed on a university as a complete contradiction in terms. Sixth, he didn't place too much stock in documents, plans, and projects. He bet on men. Finally, as a College of Agriculture man, he had a feeling for extension--its root and fruits--and for the role of the University as a creature of the state, in drawing from the state its inspirations and in giving back to the state its resources and skills. This spirit is summed up rather admirably in a passage about which Fred was as happy as about anything ever drafted for him:

"I like to think of Wisconsin's great University as somehow being akin to Wisconsin's great river. It is indigenous to this soil and this people. Its headwaters are everywhere throughout the state. It is a thing of beauty, where overhanging trees from opposite shores meet and arbor the way. It is utilitarian. In its quiet reaches it ministers to pastures and fields, at its power dams to municipalities and factories. In its Dells and rapids it is active and turbulent. In its forest oxbows it is the setting for abundant contemplation and irresistible change. Where it spreads itself in shallow sloughs it becomes muddied with the silt of the watershed, but where it flows in ageless channels its waters are a magnificent blue. Wisconsin's University and Wisconsin's river are physically contained within the state. But through other currents they give themselves to the seas of the world. Wisconsin water laps at the base of Gibraltar. Wisconsin sacrifice is entombed on Okinawa. Wisconsin ideas enrich the capitals of the nations. From this spot, where a hundred years ago there was but a tricklet, there has welled forth in the past century a flood of achievement which has only begun to roll on toward broader lands and fairer days."[26]

If the historians of the next century are casual at their task, they may decide that between 1945 and 1955 the University of Wisconsin ran itself. If they read between the lines, however, they will find abundant evidence of that "great leadership" which the Board of Regents attributed to E. B. Fred. They will find the story of a president who led, first by detecting the aims and objectives of his faculty and translating them into action. And who led by interpreting to his faculty his own aims and objectives and winning support in quiet conferences. A critical quality of Fred's leadership was, consequently, adeptness at communication--at sensing the climate of professorial thought and at molding that thought. Fred was a successful administrator because he was as one with his faculty. As a leader, he was ahead of his faculty, but never so far ahead that he lost that vital entente which provides for an osmosis of power between president and professor. In a real sense Fred always gave the appearance of being led and thus in fact led his highly individualistic colleagues. Fred knew that no campus reform can succeed at Wisconsin for which the sentiment of the faculty is not prepared. And he had read enough University history to know that no Wisconsin president will last who does not represent his faculty. It is this vital interplay between "the leader" and "the led" which was the distinguishing mark of the Fred era.

Adolfson. One of the key administrators "leading" and "being led" by Fred was L. H. Adolfson, director of the Extension Division. Adolfson was a good deal like Fred in many ways. He did not "direct" so much as he guided: "We must give (Extension staff members) the best training and counselling we can, and as much freedom as possible to develop their own programs."[27] He was quiet and unassuming, although, unlike Fred, he was an effective speaker and writer in his own right. He believed in administration by committee--to a point. He believed in research: "The long-range effectiveness of Extension hinges on our success in making research an integral part of our going operations."[28] He believed in extension: "We must ever be aware that our goal is to place the specialized resources of the universities within the reach of the entire adult population."[29] He was a hard worker: "We must work with all the skill we possess."[30]

Adolfson had Reber's imagination and vigor without Reber's dictatorial tendencies. Like Snell, he was a professional administrator, but unlike Snell he knew and respected all the campus traditions. He had Holt's flair for public relationships, but unlike Holt he was a scholar in his own right, a Wisconsin PhD in political science, which made him eminently acceptable on the Hill. He had Lighty's devotion to the social studies and Allen's practical sense of field problems. His ability to command the respect of NUEA colleagues and high officials in the adult education movement abroad enhanced his prestige at home.

Above everything else, Adolfson, like Fred, was extemely adept at human relationships. He was a leader, but he led softly, like a conductor fingering an orchestra. People did not work for him, they worked with him. He encouraged young staff members who said, "Give me the tools and I will do the job," but he also was patient with older professors who needed constant "hand-holding." He bid sincerely and effectively for cooperation with sister divisions within the University and with sister organizations without. He had plenty of money to spend, and he spent it wisely and well.

Out of this fortuitous postwar association of people, places, and events came Wisconsin's latter-day "Golden Age" in public relations through public service. Fred and Adolfson recaptured the Van Hise-Reber formula: (1) an informed interest by the chief administrative office of the university, (2) a constant contact between that office and the office of the Director of Extension, and (3) a direct and consistent line of organization from the

Extension Division to each of the main departments and professional schools of the University.

How Fred and Adolfson put this formula to work is the story of the outreach university from 1945 to 1955.

VII.

A NEW ERA

After a period of 40 years, a program of public relations should begin to show some clear-cut hallmarks, directions, and returns on investment. Our case study does.

"We stand," said E. B. Fred confidently in 1945, "at the threshold of a new era....More and more people are using the services of the University."[1]

It is indeed true that the 1945-55 period saw a new spirit--or more correctly, a revivified spirit--sweep across the University of Wisconsin campus. A half-century before, the University had set for itself a noble purpose and a practical function--public relations through public service. With this principle as its guide, the University had moved with increasing momentum toward a fuller realization of earlier dreams, that a great university with its extraordinary resources and its congregation of teachers and scholars would provide for the part-time adult student, of varying circumstances of life.[2] Adult education came into its own as a co-equal with undergraduate instruction, its aim to inspire grown-ups to be something more than they are now and to do their work better than they now do it. At its best in Wisconsin, it had led "to constantly increasing richness of life, better appreciation of what life offers, greater satisfaction in the use of the mind and body, and better understanding of the rights and duties of one's fellow man."[3]

In so doing, adult education projected the University as never before into the life of the state, and projected the people of the state as never before into the life of the University. How this ecological adjustment came about is the nub of the story of the modern public relationships of the emerging outreach university.

CAMPUS ECOLOGY

In 1945, as 40 years before, the University of Wisconsin was responding to environmental pressures. New factors were effecting the ebb and flow of the relations between the campus and its constituents. John Gaus has pinpointed these elements in the ecology of a public institution as "people, place, physical technology, social technology, wishes and ideas, catastrophe,

and personality."[4] We have already examined in some detail the two personalities who were to have a primary effect on the internal and external relations of Extension during the post-war decade. What of the other factors?

People. At the turn of the century, the University had discovered the farmer and the laborer. At mid-century, business and industry discovered the University. The resulting shotgun marriage has profoundly affected University ways and wherewithall. The preliminary introductions were performed, as we have seen, by Julius Heil and Frank Holt in 1938. By the 1940s, solid Republican citizens like Regent Frank Sensenbrenner of Kimberly-Clark were telling their millionaire friends that the University wasn't really such a bad outfit after all. Back in the evil old Progressive days it might have been a part of the "red network," but those days were gone, never to return. Today, the University was "the silent partner in my plant." What was good for the University was good for Wisconsin commerce. Give the University more money and it could do for the businessman and industrialist what it had done for Wisconsin agriculture.

Under the cloak of this new respectability, the University was able to move out to win new friends and influence new people. The honeymoon took place under the auspices of the Committee for Economic Development. This national movement was set up in 1942-3 by businessmen and industrialists under Paul Hoffman of Studebaker to prevent mass unemployment during the change-over from war economy to peace. It undertook a program of research, a program of field development and community organization, and a program of lobbying for "adequate and sound governmental policy."[5] The Wisconsin chairman, Fred Clausen of the Van Brunt Manufacturing Company and a former Regent, had a hunch that the University might be in an ideal position to bring about a unified CED program. His hunch proved correct. The Extension Division loaned Prof. R. J. Colbert of its Bureau of Economics and Sociology to CED as state manager. Frank Holt became state vice chairman of CED's advisory committee. As they and other University personnel helped organize 78 CED committees in 54 counties, they were thrown into almost daily contact with hard-headed businessmen who had not previously spoken the language of the campus. Economics professor met farm-machinery manufacturer, banker met extension director, and chain-store magnate met commerce dean--all on a new plain of "team-play and unity of purpose." The result was that when CED disbanded in 1946, the Extension Division was asked to carry on much the

same kind of program under a new Bureau of Community Development, with Colbert as its director.

Other factors were to make the marriage of business and Bascom a fruitful one. The ESMWT program had introduced Wisconsin industry to the possibilities of in-service training under the auspices of the University. With the end of the war and the collapse of ESMWT came the UW's Industrial Management Institute and similar forms of direct service to Wisconsin commerce. As increasing numbers of adults showed up on the campus for refresher courses, the need for some kind of a center for continuation study became ever more clear. To raise the money there was organized the University of Wisconsin Foundation, made up of a stellar collection of business and industrial tycoons who 20 years earlier had been railing at the University.

But the people who had probably the strongest if not the most obvious effect on the post-war public relations of the University were the veterans. Figures seldom tell a dramatic story, but in this case they do. In the spring of 1944, the resident enrollment at Madison had dropped to 6,600 students, of whom a thousand were in armed forces programs. By the spring of 1946, University enrollment skyrocketed to 13,700 of whom 45 per cent were returning GIs. A year later the enrollment reached the astronomical figure of 23,500. Three-thousand were in 34 emergency extension centers set up virtually overnight. By 1951, 30,000 veterans had crossed the campus. They exerted a stabilizing influence on student life. Their maturity enabled them to raise scholarship levels. Their greater sense of responsibility improved student-faculty relationships. And their sheer presence gave the Extension Division a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to demonstrate its role in equalizing education opportunity throughout the state. When the GI flood subsided the stronger centers remained as vigorous University beachheads in strategic communities.

Place. In the early 1900s E. E. Slosson had reported that the Wisconsin campus had an area "of 56,000 square miles," but this was more poetic than accurate. Following World War II, however, the extension centers of the Extension Division gave tangible evidence as never before to the state-wide focus of University enterprise and came increasingly to affect favorably the off-campus relations of the University. The center concept had had its birth in the dark days of depression as a remedial device for bringing education to the under-privileged. The cessation of hostilities and return to

civilian life of GIs revived the extension center program. Field reports submitted during the summer of 1945 indicated the possibility of full freshman programs in a dozen cities. No longer was the problem one of finding enough students, but one of finding enough instructors. In 1945 the Legislature ended the system of charging extension center students by the credit and brought the fees into line with those charged for residence study. The center program helped relieve the strain placed upon the University by the sudden influx of student veterans, and it gave the University a definite "place in the sun" in key communities. From the standpoint of service to the people of the state, the program was highly commendable. From the standpoint of public relations, the centers gave Wisconsin cities other than Madison a direct stake in the fortunes of the University.

Madison itself was growing, providing an ever larger local market for a wide variety of evening extension programs. The expansion of the University made itself felt on the Extension Division in the form of increased demands for such administrative services as duplicating, audio-visual aids, and photographic processing. The resulting expansion of Extension forced many departments and bureaus out of the central Extension Building and into nooks and crannies all over the campus, and while this complicated Extension administration, it did serve to develop new informal ties between Extension units and their new neighbors.

Technology.[6] Between 1940 and 1950, the shift of Wisconsin from an agricultural to an industrial state became even more pronounced. There were 18,174 fewer farms in the state in 1950 than in 1940, and 146,955 fewer people on Wisconsin farms. Some 20 counties in the southeastern part of the state got 95 per cent of the state's entire growth of population. Of the 1,355,283 persons gainfully employed in 1950, more than two-thirds were employed in non-agricultural occupations. (It was not the large city, however, that got the population increase; it was the suburban areas. The city of Kenosha, for example, had a population gain of 11.5 per cent between 1940 and 1950, but the rural area of Kenosha County gained 41.6 per cent.) From 1939 to 1947 the value added by Wisconsin manufacturing increased 231 per cent, and the value added in 1951 was almost a billion dollars. By 1954 Wisconsin was the third state nationallly in heating equipment and plumbing supplies, fourth in motor vehicles and equipment, fifth in paper and paper products, fifth in leather and leather products, fifth in machinery and

electrical machinery, and sixth in iron and steel foundaries. (In food products, on the other hand, Wisconsin had slipped from 1 to 7.) Within Wisconsin, manufacturing was well dispersed. Some 30 per cent of the plants established since 1940 were in centers of population of 10,000 of less.

The tourist trade had turned Wisconsin's northern cut-over into a $400 million-a-year resort area. In 1940 there were 26 counties in the north and central parts of the state in which rural-farm families had an average level of living that was 30 points below the national average. By 1950 there was not a single Wisconsin county in which the level of rural living was not above the national average. In 1950 one out of every five Wisconsin families reported incomes in excess of $5,000. Over 60 per cent of the occupied dwellings of the state were occupied by the owner, 64 per cent had central heating, 81 per cent had mechanical refrigerators, 97 per cent had radios.

Wisconsin, in other words, was wealthier in 1945 than in 1905, if not wiser; less susceptible to the acts of God which plague farmers, if not less susceptible to the acts of Washington which seem to plague businessmen; more urban if not more urbane; more concentrated in its population; better able to support the burgeoning programs of state government.

Wishes and Ideas. Something happened to the American public during World War II which is hard to document explicitly but which you can detect by putting a wetted finger to the wind. That "something" was a measurably deepened faith in the efficacy of education. Millions of GIs witnessed the profound trust of the armed forces in the ability of a training program to turn a civilian clerk into a front-line jack of many trades. Millions of men and women on the home front witnessed the ability of refresher courses to turn housewives into riveters. Hundreds of government agencies marveled at the success of adult-education programs in uniting the nation in all sorts of "drives." Thousands of schools and colleges were spell-bound by their own ability to convert traditional facilities and curricula into emergency activities of various kinds which attracted wide attention as adjuncts of the national defense effort. Every citizen stood aghast at the atomic havoc wrought by university-trained physicists. Farmers saw their crops--and profits--mount under the impact of agricultural science. Industrialists waded into new markets exposed by the new products born of war-time campus research. Doctors and their patients were cheered by new diagnoses and new treatments made possible by clinical tests in camp hospitals and

university laboratories. In short, a country which had always had a profound belief in education as "a good thing" suddenly found new and dramatic evidence to buttress its faith. The flood of GIs on the campuses was merely symptomatic of a broad American thirst for knowledge and a deep American conviction that knowledge was power.

This thirst and this conviction were in abundant evidence in post-war Wisconsin, and provided fertile soil for the expansion of the University in general and its Extension Division in particular. The University, in turn, tilled the soil diligently.

"I deem it important to say a word about our public relations," President Fred told his faculty in the fall of 1947. "It is imperative that we, as educators, be understood in a democratic society which gives us our freedom and which furnishes us our financial support. To achieve that understanding requires that we of the University tell our story clearly and repeatedly. To this end, I have brought Prof. Scott M. Cutlip of the School of Journalism into my office to develop and coordinate our informational services."[8]

Thus in 1947, as in 1907, a University PR program was to help provide both the climate and the support for vigorous extension growth. In 1947 as in 1907 there were, too, national wishes and ideas which fertilized Extension's fields. The Great Books Movement, the Fund for Adult Education, UNESCO--these and other developments focused public attention on adult education and brought requests to the campus for related programs. The word 'extension' might have become "a complex cluster of highly charged emotional evocations"[9] that reacted more or less unfavorably on some people, but the word "adult education" had gained increasing acceptability to the point where one enthusiast said it encompassed "the very future of civilization." The Division seized upon this popularity of "adult education" and made it its own.

Catastrophe. World War II was indeed a catastrophe of monstrous proportions. For the 650 Wisconsin alumni for whom there would be no homecoming, ever, no refurbishment of the "Wisconsin idea" was an honest answer. And yet they would probably be gratified to know that out of the cause for which they had given their last full measure of devotion, their University and their state had snatched a new lease of life. In the caldron of catastrophe Wisconsin citizens and their institutions had developed a new unity of purpose, new tolerance, new resources. The Extension Division particularly used the crisis to discover new educational needs, translate those needs into

action programs, and convert those programs into new enthusiasm and support for the century-old University.

Personality. In the days of Fred as in the days of Van Hise, the man in the capitol was to play an important role in University--state relations. Fortunately for the University, the man was Oscar Rennebohm, Wisconsin alumnus, Madison businessman, and sincere friend of education. Governor from 1947 through 1950 and Regent after that, Rennebohm listened with a sympathetic ear to the University's mounting requests for operational funds, and personally went to the mat for a building budget. With that innate loyalty to Alma Mater which defies description, and with an honest belief in the elevating role of the University in the life of the state, Rennebohm was that key individual without which a public university is powerless--a powerful public figure with powerful connections in a powerful position who uses his influence to bestow upon the university what Adams called "the final factor which determines the result"--money.

A PUBLIC RELATIONS PUSH

By 1945, public relations concepts were beginning to come of age at the University of Wisconsin. For 40 years the institution had been living close to the people of the state, but the cultivation of the interplay between campus and constituency had been more accidental than systematic. With the coming of the postwar period, however, and the overwhelming need for enlarged support with which to meet enlarged opportunities, the University came increasingly to think candidly yet nonetheless sincerely in terms of those covert policies and overt acts which operate to build a broad base of public interest and good will. The Extension Division became a principal instrumentality for this concept of public relations through public service.

Policies. Though they were not explicitly formulated until 1951, the general policies which may be said to have governed the PR work of the University and the Division under Fred and Adolfson look something like this:

1. To respond quickly and effectively to emergency calls from governmental units at all elvels, from Washington down to town and village boards.

2. To assist the people of the state in becoming adjusted to prolonged existence in an economy which is neither "total war" nor "total peace."

3. To stimulate analysis of current problems and issues in all fields of knowledge.

4. To build two-way communications into every avenue of University-state relations.

Personnel. To accomplish these objectives, Fred and Adolfson hired highly qualified specialists in a wide range of disciplines and techniques. PR-Man Scott Cutlip revamped the University News Service from top to bottom, quadrupled its size, and did his best to coordinate its activities with those of other campus PR agencies. Adolfson brought a dozen key new people into the Division, some of them to bone up traditional programs, others to go off in new directions. By 1954, of Extension's core staff of 36 administrators and professors, only three dated back prior to 1944 in their present assignments.

If public relations is first and last a matter of policy, it is also true that public relations is a matter of competent practitioners. These two principles have been Wisconsin's guiding lights since 1945. But neither Fred nor Adolfson were so naive as to believe that sound PR policies and sound PR personnel would eliminate all PR problems. When the problems arose, they faced them squarely.

Problems. The first PR problem to face Fred and Adolfson was that old Extension bugaboo, the attitude of the resident faculty. Despite all the clear evidence of 40 years that Extension was a bona fide function of the modern university and that public service did indeed build fruitful public relationships, there were on the University of Wisconsin campus in 1945 those unreconstructed resident professors who saw Extension only as an intolerable drain on the already strained resources of the University.

Characteristically, Adolfson attacked this problem directly. All of his new appointments he made sure had the blessing of the mother department on the Hill, and he encouraged these appointees to build carefully and well the lines of communication between their bureaus and their resident colleagues. In other ways--in the espousal of research as an integral part of Extension programming, in public pronouncements on academic freedom, in the development of courses and conferences highly professional in nature--Adolfson sought to improve Extension's status within the University. By 1955 the campaign had not been wholly won, but notable gains had been made, typified by the fact that when the resident Department of Education sought a new chairman, it "stole" the chairman of the Extension department. No longer was the Division a "dumping ground" for personnel unwanted on the Hill.

Characteristically, Fred attacked this same PR problem indirectly. As a part of a plan to get his faculty to take a long, hard look at University functions and policies, he appointed a special committee which had as one of its missions the job of scrutinizing the University's role in public service and adult education. The friends of Extension were not conspicuous by their presence on this committee, and this is a typical Fredian technique--to lead sinners to repentance by contemplating around a committee table the error of their ways. When the tome-like Functions and Policies Report finally emerged in 1949, it had these salutory, if somewhat grudging, comments to say about Extension:

Wisconsin has been a leader in making the services of scholars available to the state, and these activities have been kept "in reasonable touch with scholarship."

The University has achieved "a reasonably broad geographic coverage of the state."

The University now conducts a varied program of adult education, but in this area "there is real opportunity for pioneering. To the task of 'life long learning' for the adults of Wisconsin, the University community of scholars can bring unique resources and talents."

This was not exactly the kind of lilting PR language which a Van Hise would have penned, but it represented nonetheless a solid academic foundation on which to build Extension programs.

Six months later the Regents made the public service function even more official when they issued a "high policy" statement which placed extension on a par with teaching, research, and professional education in the University's quadruple approach to its state-wide responsibilities.

The second broad problem to face Fred and Adolfson was that other old bugaboo, attempted restrictions on academic freedom. Here again the University and the Division drew a "no retreat" line.

How the Department of Defense, under the guise of "red-hunting," tried to insinuate itself into the control of leading American colleges and universities; how the Department was stymied by alert educators around the country; and how the fight for campus freedom was led by an unintimidated president and his professors in the home of McCarthyism itself--here is one of the great and hitherto untold stories of Americanism in this era of the great smear.

In 1953 14 colleges and universities answered with an unequivocal "No!" a Government demand that the Secretary of the Army have the final say on who should teach their correspondence study courses. The first institution to stand up and be counted against the Washington probe was the University of Wisconsin.

The case of the Defense Department vs. the universities is a revealing example of how fearful men can be placed in the position of whittling away at the premises and practices of the American tradition, and of how that tradition can be successfully defended by men who have lost neither their courage nor their sense of proportion.

Like most assaults on the fundamentals of democracy, the Department of Defense attack on the integrity of American higher education had all the trappings of innocence. Since 1942 the Department of Defense, through its United States Armed Forces Institute, had been entering into a cooperative arrangement with some 45 colleges and universities whereby men and women in the Armed Forces took correspondence study courses from these colleges and universities largely at Government expense. The plan was simple. In effect, the Government merely provided a partial scholarship for the soldier, sailor, or airman who voluntarily enrolled in a regular credit or non-credit college correspondence study course, taught by a regular member of the faculty of the institution concerned.

This arrangement had been covered by a contract between the college or university and the United State Armed Forces Institute. In the past this contract had provided substantially for nothing more than the exchange of funds from the Government to the institution for educational services rendered. In June of 1953, however, USAFI submitted to the cooperating colleges a Fiscal Year 1954 contract which contained two short yet highly significant changes:

First, the Department of Defense proposed that all professors involved be "screened."

Second, the Department of Defense proposed to reserve the right to disapprove any professor involved.

In letters signed by Glenn McConagaha, then director of USAFI, and Maj. Gen. Harlan Hartness, then director of the information and education office of the Secretary of Defense,the universities were told that the clauses were inserted to carry out the "spirit and letter" of the Defense Appropriation

Act, as well as the intent of certain other unspecified laws and presidential executive orders which "stress the importance of security safeguards." The current Defense Appropriation Act (like those of the previous two years) forbade payment of any money to any person who advocated or was a member of an organization that advocated the forcible overthrow of the government.

On the surface the Defense Department demand looked well-meaning and harmless enough. Up to their ears in a sense of responsibility for loyalty, conformity, and security--and a fear of blackjack investigations--the generals and their aides were merely proposing that trustees, presidents, and deans delegate to Washington the job of policing 45 faculties. Who could say this was not in the best interests of the nation? Twenty-eight colleges and universities--most of them minor--could not. They signed their contracts (Some later complained they hadn't read the fine print.)

But to 14 leading institutions of higher education, "Clause 1d" was a firebell in the night. They saw in it a direct threat to two cherished American freedoms: first, the privilege of a college or university to be the sole determiner in the selection and retention of faculty; and second, the privilege of every individual, business, or agency to do business with the Government without fear of intimidation.

The case of the universities was crystal-clear. They were as concerned as the Government with national security. But they saw the true defense of that security as involving not a crude witchhunt for subversives but the solid protection of time-honored individual and institutional rights that go to the heart of the American way. They were not engaged under their USAFI contracts in any "secret" projects. They were not even engaged in rendering any special service to the Government. They were merely providing regular correspondence study teaching by regular staff members to regular correspondence study students who happened currently to be members of the Armed Forces.

To accept the principle that the Secretary of the Army could hire and fire professors under the USAFI contract would open up a veritable Pandora's box of federal intervention in state and private affairs. There is no difference in kind and very little in degree between the educational service performed for USAFI and the educational service performed by every land grant college for the Department of Agriculture. There is no difference

between a university selling an unclassified correspondence study course to a "GI" through the Department of Defense and a manufacturer selling an automobile or a mimeograph machine to the Department of Interior. To open the door to Government policing in the one case was to open it in the other.

So 14 alert colleges and universities reasoned. And they went to work, led by Wisconsin's Adolfson. They not only sent back their contracts unsigned, but they stated their position in no uncertain terms.

Wrote President Fred of Wisconsin to General Hartness, for example:

"We feel that we must protect the rights of the state to control education within its boundaries. In our opinion, the contract as now written would give to the Federal Government the right to determine staff qualifications for our regular University work. We do not believe this proposal is necessary or in the best interests of our country. We regret that we cannot continue to cooperate with the U.S. Armed Forces Institute in this aspect of its work in the future as we have in the past."[10]

The US-USAFI "cooperating institutions" contract went unsigned until 1955, when the Department of Defense struck out the controversial clause.

PUBLIC SERVICE ORGANIZATION

Ten years earlier, the loss of some USAFI revenue might have foundered the University of Wisconsin Extension Division. In 1953, the project disappeared from view without leaving a ripple on the surface, so large and so flexible had the Division become.

The year 1953 is a good one in which to take a look at what the Extension Division had become. It was 50 years since patron-saint Van Hise had assumed the presidency. Snellism was gone and virtually forgotten. Post-war growing pains were over and Adolfson's new staff had shaken down into a tightly knit coterie of extensionists. Nor had the relatively declining revenues which came to mar the Unviersity picture in 1955 yet had their dampening effect on ideas and programs.

Structure. The Division was built around 23 academic departments: art education, chemistry, commerce, economics-sociology-anthropology, education, engineering, English, French-Italian, geography, German, history, journalism, law, library methods, mathematics, music, pharmacy, photography, physical education, political science, psychology, Spanish and speech. Each of these disciplines was represented within the Division at the least by a

one-man department and at the most by staffs of up to 10 instructors, who in turn were closely tied to their mother departments in residence. In addition, such subjects as botany, zoology, social work, classics, astronomy, geology, and miscellaneous languages were covered by ad hoc relationships with residence professors.

Some of these departments were concerned almost exclusively with correspondence study. Others operated across the board as professional bureaus in the fields of their competency; these "applied studies agencies" included education, political science, economics and sociology, psychology, engineering, law, journalism, pharmacy, German, and Spanish.

Beyond the academic departments and their integral service bureaus were seven free-wheeling interdepartmental agencies: Information and Program Services, Lectures and Concerts, Audio-Visual Instruction, the Wisconsin Idea Theatre, Community Development, the Industrial Management Institute, and the School for Workers. Operating on the flanks were six administrative service departments: the business office, field organization, editorial services, library, photographic laboratory, and auxiliary services.

Tying the whole show together were four "general staff" officers in correspondence study, the freshman-sophomore center program and credit classes, informal instructional services, and field. Specific public relations responsibilities were shared by an assistant to the director and a director of editorial services. The Milwaukee Extension Division operated outside the Division organization and reported directly to Adolfson.

Core Programs. The Division in 1953 thought of itself as being concerned with the direct extension of University work through a college credit on both the undergraduate and graduate levels; with broad adult education programs; and with cooperative services for other state and local agencies, for the University, and for federal agencies. This outreach was effected through six core programs.

1. Correspondence Study. The original function of the Division, correspondence study was still in 1953 the bulwark of Extension. There were 477 courses in all, from high school math to professional library methods. In 1953, currently active enrollments stood at more than 93,000--8,423 in UW courses, 85,000 in USAFI courses under a contract unjeopardized by the otherwise strained relations with the Department of Defense.

2. Special Classes. Where correspondence study represented direct extension of University instruction by mail, special classes represented

direct extension via periodic classroom assemblies throughout the state. In 1953 there were 225 such classes--81 for credit, 144 in non-credit areas.

3. The Center Program. Rising in the depression and flourishing immediately after World War II, the center system by 1953 had shaken down to either "community colleges" in Green Bay, Kenosha, Manitowoc, Marinette, Menasha, Racine, Sheboygan, and Wausau, providing one and two-year University programs for young people otherwise unable to begin their college careers.

4. Institutes. The fastest-growing area of adult education work at Wisconsin was a side range of conferences and short courses tailored to meet the needs of professional and functional groups in the state. In 1953, 14 Extension units held 229 such institutes with a combined attendance of 29,859.

5. The Milwaukee Extension Divison. By 1953 the Milwaukee Extension Division was in every sense a metropolitan college, ensconced in its own new building and pipe-dreaming of the day when it would be a Lake Shore College related to the University only through the Board of Regents. Day School enrollments stood at 1431, Night School registrations at 6348.

6. Special Services. Besides the more or less formal types of outreach already outlined, the Extension Division in 1953 was involved in a multiplicity of public-service programs which can only be described adequately by looking briefly at the bureaus directly concerned.

The Bureau of Information and Program Services was the old "package library" bureau established to promote the public study of questions of the day by supplying packets of authentic and well-balanced study materials, and the basic purposes of the Bureau continued to be, for the most part, elaborations in modern form of that original goal. In 1953 the Bureau distributed 9,000 packets and 10,000 sets of materials on group leadership and program planning. In addition it acted as the executive office for the Wisconsin High School Forensic Association.

The Bureau of Lectures and Concerts, another old bureau, offered "lyceum" programs for schools and civic groups, off-campus concerts by UW artists and bands, off-campus lectures by faculty personnel, and various other cultural programs. Its 1953 audience was estimated at 982,000.

The Department of Music picked up in 1948 where E. B. Gordon had left off in the '20s. Its mission was "to provide a broad music program to aid the esthetic and cultural growth of the state, developing and enriching the cultural activities in local schools, communities, and regions."

The Wisconsin Idea Theatre was the 1945 revival of the old Bureau of Dramatic Activities, and served as an agency for coordinating creative efforts throughout the state in theater and writing.

The Bureau of Community Development, already alluded to, was a wide-ranging office charged with assisting Wisconsin communities in their efforts to find adequate and satisfactory means for improving their social and economic conditions. In 1953 the Bureau was concerned largely with regional development programs and the attraction of new industries to small towns.

The Industrial Management Institute was the darling of the businessman. In 1953 it held 113 conferences and seminars for top management and supervisory personnel.

The School for Workers was the darling of the unions. In 1953 it held nine institutes for laboring people, plus 46 special classes and 10 short-courses.

The Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction maintained a film library for schools, conducted a teacher-training program, produced sound motion-pictures and kinescopes, and supplied the campus with audio-visual aids. According to the State Superintendent's annual report, 323,933 Wisconsin public school children watched BAVI films in 1953.

The Bureau of Government assisted Wisconsin public officials directly in improving governmental administration through research projects, institutes, manuals, and consultative services. The Bureau of Industrial Psychology helped Wisconsin industry develop general procedures in applied psychology. The Bureau of Sociology and Social Work "brought new knowledge and findings to public and private agencies."

Extension Services in Law, Journalism, Pharmacy, Education, German, and Spanish acted as the operational agencies for making available to professional people throughout the state the resources and skills of their counterpart University departments and schools.

Together, all of these units sought, in the words of Adolfson, "to make the University an integral and dynamic part of the life of the state in every way possible within the limits of available resources."[11]

PUBLIC SERVICE TRENDS

The once-over-lightly tour which we have just taken through the Extension Division as it stood in 1953 does not reveal "the real story behind the

headlines," so to speak. Statistics at best "are only relatively significant and meaningful....What seems to be of far more cardinal importance is that a movement in the art of living has been established firmly in a great commonwealth."[12]

What are the trends and programs which lend life to our skeleton of bureaus and enrollments?

People. World War II turned up some interesting sidelights on Extension activity which can clarify our understanding of how public service pays off in strange and devious ways. For instance, from the Milwaukee Extension Division had come the first college training received by David B. Parkinson, who went on to invent the electric gun director by which enemy planes were spotted and shot down automatically all within a matter of seconds. By June of 1946, cumulative registrations in all courses of UW Extension study had passed the half-million mark. One was a crippled girl going to high school entirely by mail. As always, back of Extension statistics were Wisconsin people being served.

Place. The big Extension story in 1947, as we already know, was the blossoming of Centers around the state--at the peak of the GI boom, 34. The directors of these centers became key men in the Division's field service, and their staffs were so tied to residence as to render center instruction in the academic sense on a par with instruction at Madison. In the belief that college training consists of more than education in subject-matter areas, the Division went on to organize a center activity program to provide opportunities for social experience, leadership training, and the development of responsible citizenship on the part of center students. Inter-center leadership conferences, music festivals, forensic tournaments, sports competition, and radio programs gave the centers both a sense of identity as a system and with the mother University.

Technology. Developments in the in-service training programs for industrial and governmental personnel played a heavy role in Extension postwar expansion. The Industrial Management Institute moved its activities into a number of new technical fields and to higher levels of management. The School for Workers developed a winter class program in the state in order to reach rank-and-file laborers hitherto "untouched." The Bureau of Industrial Psychology concentrated on direct consulting with personnel managers in industry. The Bureau of Government offered training programs for governmental employees on both the state and local levels. The Bureau of Sociology and Social Work

served such diverse groups as the Wisconsin Council of Churches and Alcoholics Anonymous. The engineering department moved into the technical and professional institute field with marked success.

Wishes and Ideas. Developments in civic and cultural adult education went hand in hand with technological extension. The Bureau of Information and Program Services began in 1947 the monthly publication of Program Notes for program chairmen of women's and men's clubs throughout the state, and initiated a program of leadership training courses for local discussion and club leaders. The Division as a whole cooperated with the Great Books Foundation of Chicago in the organization of discussion groups throughout the state, with the Atomic Energy Commission in passing the word on atomic controls and atomic possibilities, and with UNESCO in promoting United Nations concepts. Citizen Seminars was the euphonious modern label devised for package libraries on a wide variety of local, state, national, and international topics. "Home-grown culture" became the objective of the Wisconsin Idea Theatre, organized in cooperation with both the College of Letters and Science and the College of Agriculture. It was under a similar tripartite agreement that the department of music in extension got rolling. Typical of innovations in the non-credit liberal education field was a geography tours course which combined trips throughout southern Wisconsin with classroom lectures: and a "Spanish by radio" course which foreshadowed later developments in television.

"Castastrophe." The only cloud in Extension's sky was a resolution passed in 1947 by the Board of Normal School Regents which eliminated all organizing services by the Extension Division for the teachers colleges. For many years the Division had acted on request as the organizing agency for the teachers colleges' off-campus classes. The resolution not only knocked this arrangement out the window, it looked forward to projecting the state colleges into direct competition with the Division. By 1948 Eau Claire State Teachers College was offering special classes in professional education on the flank of the Wausau Center, and by 1949 Whitewater State was setting up a class in the very shadow of the Madison campus at Verona 12 miles away. This internecine warfare proved to be more of a nuisance than a serious invasion of University territory, but it was symptomatic of a growing feeling on the part of the state colleges that theirs ought no longer to be a wholly subordinate role in the state's higher education program.

Personality. In 1953, as for most of the preceding 47 years, what gave Extension its "personality" at Wisconsin were two key characteristics--

indigenousness and flexibility. Always at home in its surroundings, always ready to close up this program and expand that project, the Division was distinguished by these activites and trends:

1. The fastest growing area of adult education work at Wisconsin was the wide range of institutes and conferences tailored to meet the specific needs of professional and functional groups in Wisconsin.

2. The entire correspondence-study program was undergoing critical survey and experimentation.

3. General adult education programs were growing constantly as people recognized the need for "lifelong learning."

4. The Extension Center program appeared to have stabilized at eight centers outside of Milwaukee, with most of them emerging as very strong regional "outposts" of the University and in a real sense as "community colleges."

5. The Division recognized educational television as an intimate and essential part of its activities and was on the air with a series of experimental programs.

6. Research in the social sciences was being made an integral part of Extension activities in order to capitalize on the unique field facilities of the division.

7. The field organization of the Division was undergoing a thorough analysis and realignment.

8. Since the end of World War II, off-campus graduate programs had been growing steadily.

9. The Division was constantly refining the processes of self-analysis and budgeting.

10. Explorations were under-way with Agricultural Extension to determine how best to make the total extension services of the University available to the people of the state.

THE TOOLS OF INTERPRETATION

In communicating and interpreting, during the post-war era, the University's public relations practitioners worked with just about every tool in the book.[13] Some of them were not new to the campus; some were; all of them were sharpened and wielded with new insight and verve.

The News Media. Since 1904 the University had had virtually a one-man publicity bureau, which concentrated on putting out a periodic clip sheet, occasional mimeographed releases, and matted portraits of staff members. Beginning in 1946, the University moved toward a 10-man central News Service, equipped to cover every aspect of campus life in the form of news stories tailored to various "markets," feature articles, "home-town" releases, radio scripts and records, action photographs, background material, and press conferences. Operating on the flanks of the central Service were sub-offices in Agriculture, Extension, Athletics, the Union, WHA, and Wisconsin Players.

House Publications. For internal communications, the University developed Staff News and Memo, and Extension developed Inside Extension. For external communications, the University converted the old newsprint tabloid Badger Quarterly into a slick bi-monthly University Report, going to 100,000 alumni, parents, and friends. Extension developed Program Notes for club leaders, school administrators, and similar "customers."

Handbooks. A 24-page picture book, This Is Your University, became the "wrapper" for such varied inserts as History Digest and a fancy yet utilitarian campus map. Extension came out with an internal manual called Telling the Extension Story.

Bulletins. The University's Facts sheets went periodically to a selected list of "opinion molders." Biennial brochures like The Story of the University Dollar played a role in helping explain bigger budget requests. From the burgeoning duplicating department of Extension came a bewildering array of folders, leaflets, and booklets promoting the Division's varied programs. Even the traditional correspondence-study bulletin took on a livelier format. The extension centers particularly made use of novel and pointed recruiting literature.

Posters. Bulletin boards around the state were filled with Extension announcements. The Bureau of Lectures and Concerts made up a colorful portfolio of offerings.

Inserts and Enclosures. Taking a leaf from a practice refined by John Berge of the Alumni Association, University mail came increasingly to be "stuffed" with pertinent Extension advertising. A reprint from the student yearbook made a handsome extra brochure.

Institutional Advertising. Under the guise of setting up its class schedule in a form which could later be reprinted for student distribution,

the Milwaukee Extension Division placed large display ads in Milwaukee's daily newspapers. The evening program in Madison followed suit.

Meetings. At all Extension conferences and institutes, a spot was generally reserved for "official greetings from the University" by a top-brass representative. Even more pointed were the annual media conferences arranged by the News Service for weekly editors, daily publishers, and radio station managers.

Speaker's Bureau. One of the primary functions of the assistant to the president came to be the task of putting state organizations like alumni clubs in touch with appropriate campus speakers, supplementing the similar work of Extension field men and bureaus.

Radio. Through the fact that University Station WHA came to feed a state FM network, the University had an open door to listeners, and moved through it on a large scale. The emphasis, however, was always on the educational broadcast as opposed to the purely promotional, although Extension did for a time experiment with a 15-minute program of a frankly "commercial" nature.

Television. With the coming of WHA-TV, the University had another communications medium, albeit one limited to the Madison area. In this case, the Extension Division got in on the ground floor and dominated the programming, both with solid instruction, educament, and promotion.

Organizations. Not all of the University's PR program was integral. There were two "strong rights arms," the Wisconsin Alumni Association and the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, and these organizations contributed significant service both in terms of projects and publications. Then came the University of Wisconsin Foundation which, as a part of its fund-raising campaign, developed a whole series of special pamphlets and brochures. The Board of Visitors also stepped up its status as an invaluable source of information and guidance flowing from the public to the University, as did a wide range of advisory committees at departmental and school levels.

Field Men. Up until 1954, the Extension Division was well on the way to scuttling its field organization. The Reber era was far away, and modern extensionists were slow to appreciate the peculiar utility of a vigorous system of geographic generalists and content specialists plying public relations' two-way street. In 1954, however, Adolfson put on of his ablest lieutenants in charge of a revamped field service and began to think in terms of a system which would equal in quality if not in quantity the College of Agriculture's ubiquitous county-agent setup.

Missionaries. In the 1950s there was nothing to take the place of the town-and-gown luncheon club which had flourished under Van Hise and La Follette, but the University did have a Charles McCarthy type in the capitol. He was William H. Young, professor of political science on leave to Governor Rennebohm as a free-wheeling specialist in public administration. And there were other ambassadors without portfolio, too--men like Gus Toepel, professor turned director of the Legislative Reference Library; John Walsh, boxing coach doubling in brass as a lawyer-lobbyist; and Volmer Sorenson, UW civil servant become director of the State Bureau of Personnel.

The Grapevine. With its large civil-service staff, Extension had a double internal-communications problem. Administrative-staff luncheons helped at one level, well-placed "tip-offs" at the other.

Motion Pictures. Although it had a large and competent audio-visual department, the University was slow to put its story on film. By 1955, however, a campus movie was in being. Prior to that, kinescopes had helped to fill the gap.

Exhibits. During its Centennial year, the University took over a large booth at the State Fair.

Open House. Parents Weekend had been a campus tradition since the '20s, and alumni reunions longer still. After 1945 these events were joined by such occasions as Engineers' Day and Commerce Day.

Staged Events. All of these communcations tools came to focus in the University Centennial in 1948-49, a year-long series of events designed both to stimulate internal progress and to arouse external interest and support. This Centennial is worth examining in some detail, because it illustrates fairly well how many interpretation methods can be brought to bear in a relatively coordinated drive toward identifying an institution with its publics.

ON BEING 100 YEARS OLD

The UW Centennial was divided into five main projects. They were: special celebrations, memorial projects, academic conferences, fine arts performances, and administrative actions.

Special Celebrations. 1. Statehood Day. The year 1948-49 marked the centennial of the State of Wisconsin as well as the Centennial of the University. Consequently, the University joined with the state on May 29, 1948, in commemorating the 100th anniversary of the admission of Wisconsin to the Union as the 30th state. The day was observed with appropriate ceremonies

throughout the state and at an official program at Camp Randall on the University campus.

2. State Centennial Exposition. The University was represented at the State Centennial Exposition in Milwaukee by three display booths in the Education B. ding. Through models, charts, pictures, and exhibits, the University told its story of "University of Wisconsin Education Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." The exhibits later made a tour of the UW's 19 extension centers and we.e reproduced as colored slides for use by off-campus speakers. Director Adolfson of Extension developed data to show that during 1948-49 the University reached almost every community in Wisconsin in some way.

3. Founder's Day. The University's exact birthday--February 5, 1949--was a high point on the Centennial calendar. On or about that date, Badgers from London to Tokyo gathered at over 50 centers throughout the world to pay tribute to the University. An MBS national hookup carried a special 30-minute Founder's Day broadcast from the campus, and a master Founder's Day dinner was held in Great Hall of the Memorial Union at Madison.

4. Commencement-Reunion Week. Climax of the UW Centennial came from June 12 to 19, 1949. Special events of that week included a Centennial dinner for the entire University "family," expanded Commencement exercises with honorary degrees going to assorted big-wigs, and a large alumni reunion.

5. University History. No birthday is complete without a look backward and a stock-taking. One of three principal UW Centennial memorial projects was the publication of a two-volume The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1948-1925. A staff of six historians worked on the definitive project for over four years. It was written by two UW professors of history, Merle Curti (author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning The Growth of American Thought), and Vernon Carstensen. Reviewers called it "unmarred by panegyric and propaganda."

6. Historica Exhibits. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin pitched in to help the University celebrate. Its staff developed a souvenir engagement calendar and a series of elaborate displays telling the 100-year story of the University.

7. University of Wisconsin Foundation. Going into its centennial era, the University of Wisconsin had no organization of alumni and friends set up to solicit gifts and bequests. One of the first out-growths of Centennial planning was the formation of such a foundation. This foundation set out immediately on a centennial campaign to raise funds for scholarships, fellowships, endowed professorships, special equipment, and an adult education

center. Centennial Chairman Kiekhofer called the establishment of the Foundation "perhaps in the perspective of time the most important of all the significant contributions of the Centennial."

Academic Conferences. It seemed unusually fitting that a university which has made famous the slogan of "service to the commonwealth" should focus its 100th anniversary celebration on applying--in cooperation with educators, students, and laymen throughout the country--common skills, knowledge, and wisdom to the problem of higher education for American society.

1. Education Conference. Formal opening of the UW Centennial, on October 8-10, 1948, was a national conference on "Higher Education for American Society." Significant pertinent topics were discussed by education leaders from all parts of the country, and the conference attracted delegates from some 200 colleges and universities. The published proceedings constitute a fundamental contribution to the literature of U.S. higher education. This was the UW's gesture to "the trade," so to speak.

2. Symposia. Backbone of the UW Centennial was a series of 16 academic symposia. These conferences ran periodically throughout the year, brought to the campus distinguished experts in various fields of learning, and provided a stimulus to Wisconsin scholarship and research. Subjects ran the gamut from "Pulverized Coal Burning" to "The Humanities in American Society," and "The Steriod Hormones." These programs had "tremendous value" for graduate work, according to Dean Conrad Elvehjem of the Graduate School.

3. Learned Societies. Thirteen American learned societies held meetings on the UW campus during the Centennial year. While the programs of these various conventions were concerned primarily with the projects of the society members, they also each included lectures and discussion meetings to which the public was invited. Attendance at some of the conventions reached 1,200.

Fine Arts Performances. Director Porter Butts of the Memorial Union reported that "there has perhaps been no more notable presentation of academics, music, art, and drama on any campus, or in any city except the largest, in a single season than occurred at the Union during the Centennial."

1. Music. Particularly noteworthy amoung Centennial contributions was the enrichment of UW work in the fine arts, growing out of the finest in music, drama, and art ever seen or heard on the campus. Off-campus musical attractions included the New York Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of Leopold Stokowski, Kreiseler and his violin, and Pianist Vladimir Horowitz. Home-talent performances included a requiem for Wisconsin war dead and a massed performance by the UW choruses, orchestras, and bands.

2. Drama. The Wisconsin Players devoted their entire season to the works of Wisconsin playwrights. Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne staged the world premier of Speak to Me of Love at Madison. Other New York and Chicago productions visited the campus.

3. Art. Besides an expanded series of local and guest art exhibits, the Centennial featured a $1,000,000 loan exhibit of old masterpieces from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. This exhibit alone drew 66,000 visitors.

4. Radio. State stations WHA and WHA-FM devoted many of their 1948-49 broadcasting hours to special centennial programs.

Administrative Actions. A Centennial year is as a tinkling cymbal unless suitable commemorative events are accompanied by fundamental institutional progress. It is to the everlasting credit of the University of Wisconsin Centennial that the year 1948-49 will be remembered far longer for its significant academic strides than for its birthday celebrations. In its prime fields of teaching, research, public service, and building, the UW moved ahead, as illustrated by the following examples.

1. Integrated Liberal Studies. The fall of 1948 marked the introduction of Wisconsin Integrated Liberal Studies curriculum as an alternative to conventional course patterns. In brief, in place of a number of elective courses, ILS offers a single program of "liberal" studies in which the materials of many subjects are brought together and "integrated" into a pattern revealing the heritage of western civilization. Its avowed purpose is to lay a broad foundation of general education in advance of specialized studies.

2. Lake Investigations Committee. Adopting a war-time expedient of interdepartmental collaboration and "cross-fertilization" to peacetime problems, the University set up in 1948 an all-campus research team charged with mobilizing the forces of the entire University in a broad attack on the conservation and wise use of Wisconsin's natural aquatic resources.

3. Industrial Relations Center. To coordinate and expand its public services in labor education, management training, and labor-management counselling, the University established an Industrial Relations Center during the Centennial year.

4. Functions and Policies Committee. No Centennial-year event was so full of import as the deliberations of a 24-man faculty committee charged with making a thorough study of UW functions and policies. Out of this self- analysis came evaluation and recommendations for an educational program

designed to do justice to the history and ideals of the institution, the talent available on the campus, the expectations of the citizens of the state, and the current challenge to higher education generally.

5. Buildings. After being becalmed in the horse latitudes of construction for upwards of 30 years, the UW got a building program rolling in 1948-49. A new engineering building cornerstone was laid, faculty and student housing projects were completed, two laboratories were put up, and blueprints were drawn for the biggest construction boom in campus history--including a $6,000,000 library.

Communications. Aimed directly at the job of "selling" were these projects:

1. Gadgets. A slogan or motto always helps put across a celebration idea. The UW's was unearthed from an old speech by a former UW president. It ran: "...rooted in the past, serving the present, forming the future..."

An emblem is a help, too. The UW's was a seal shaped in the form of the state and bearing the inscription, "48-49, Centennial, University of Wisconsin." The motto and emblem were printed on all UW stationery and publications during the year. Together they were also inscribed on a huge 16x16-foot backdrop which hung behind the rostrum at all centennial events (and which functioned as a fine pix background.)

Badges are another help. Every symposium and convention delegate got a celluloid-covered lapel card which read: "Univeristy of Wisconsin Centennial."

The University didn't go in for medallions because the cost seemed all out of proportion to the return. Federal authorities did not honor petitions for commemorative coins, stamps, or cachets. The UW did, however, spend a good deal of time and money on information packets for all campus visitors. These folderscontained detailed material on the respective meetings, and background material, maps, and pictures on the campus in general. Wisconsin even had a "Mr. Centennial"--97-year-old President-Emeritus E. A. Birge, who came to the campus when Grant was in the White House and who was still working occasionally in his limnology lab at the time of the celebration.

2. Publications. During the year the Centennial office was responsible for getting out a wide range of special publications. They included a Centennial announcement brochure, fancy invitations, the official calendar, a monthly memo to faculty members, a roster of committees, a UW history digest, a planning manual, speech drafts, a roster of "Gold Star Badgers," printed programs for appropriate events, an art exhibit souvenir brochure, abstracts, and proceedings.

3. Publicity. In addition to giving wide and thorough coverage to all Centennial projects as they broke, the UW News Service concentrated in 1948-49 on getting into big-time national publications. The results were overwhelming. Look, Life, Newsweek, Holiday, Reader's Digest, the Saturday Evening Post, other magazines, and most of the learned journals paid effusive attention to Wisconsin during the Centennial year. Both Madison newspapers published special UW Centennial editions. So did the student daily. The Wisconsin Alumnus was virtually a Centennial monthly magazine for a year. The University Press will have published nine Centennial volumes of one sort or another before it is through. National figures including President Truman came through with high-praise. In summary, from the PR point of view, the Centennial was a "natural"--providing a chance to focus attention on the record, the needs, the problems, and the possibilities of the University. Internally, the Centennial afforded a stimulus for reassessment and renewal of ideas and ideals. Externally, the Centennial afforded a convenient hook on which to hang the retelling of the institution's story.

Neither of these opportunities ought to be missed by the PR man confronted by an impending jubilee. Above all, he ought not miss the implications of a university centennial. A university centennial must be as much at home on the campus as a sophomore or a dean. It cannot be a circus-type of celebration, full of eyewash and jazz. It must be thoroughly academic. Its motives, its techniques, and its display must be as thoroughly educational as the institution to which it does honor, else it betray the very cause for which it is being employed. This does not mean a university centennial has to be stuffy. There is nothing so dramatic as sound education soundly presented.

Wisconsin PR people like to think that--with all its flaws--their Centennial was in a very real sense a distillation of all they had learned in 100 years about the role of a great university in the life of a state. It was concerned with teaching, with searching, with serving, and with building. It marked not only the completion of 100 years, but also the beginning of a second hundred. The Centennial like all good PR, in other words, was indigenous to the Wisconsin campus.

TELLING THE EXTENSION STORY

By 1953 the University as a whole had moved somewhat downhill from the coordinated PR front which it presented in its Centennial year. Professor

Cutlip, frustrated in a vain attempt consistently to administer public relations policies as well as publicity practices, had retired to Journalism Hall. The University News Service, sniped at by other state agencies jealous of its effectiveness, had its budget cut in half. The other campus publicity officers went their separate ways.

Within Extenson, however, public relations assumed heightened status.

An Office of Editorial Services had become one of the key agencies through which the University Extension Division discovered new educational needs, interpreted those needs to the University, and translated those needs into action programs in all parts of the state. Consolidating the journalistic aspects of the Extension enterprise and allying them with a department of journalism, the Office of Editorial Services stood ready to assist the units and personnel of the Division in collecting, collating, evaluating, interpreting, and disseminating education information.

To meet these responsibilities, the Office of Editorial Services was organized to operate three primary programs: public relations, publications, and public information.

Public Relations. Public relations as we have said, is the communication and interpretation of ideas and information to all the various publics of an institution; and the communication and interpretation of information, ideas, and opinions from those publics to the institution, in an effort to bring the two into harmonious and fruitful adjustment. Public relations thus conceived was at the heart of Extension Division operations.

It was the aim of the Office of Editorial Services to assist (1) in developing the broad policies involved in the interpretation of the Extension Division's activities, needs and aspirations to its various publics; and (2) in developing avenues for the interpretation of the needs and opinions of its various publics to the Division.

To achieve these coordinated programs of out-going and in-coming communications, the Office of Editorial Services was charged with maintaining a continuous informal analysis of Division functions and policies, (2) a continuous informal assessment of public attitudes, (3) a broad overview of the entire Extension operation to facilitate internal and external two-way communications, and (4) materials and records basic to the preparation of Division-wide policy statements and functional reports.

The Office of Editorial Services public relations-wise was thus concerned with communications research and consumer research--a constant search for new ideas and new ways of communicating ideas; and an assessment of the timeliness, comprehensiveness, and effectiveness of the Extension enterprise.

Publications. A primary contact between the Extension Division and its publics was the printed word. Hence pleasing and effective publications were an integral part of the educative and service processes.

It was the aim of the Office of Editorial Services (1) to assist Division bureaus and departments in the preparation and production of teaching materials, bulletins, catalogs, project announcements, similar printed matter; and (2) to assist the Business Office in maintaining economical and efficient editorial and duplicating operations.

To meet these responsibilities the Office of Editorial Services (1) counselled Extension agencies on content, design, and distribution of publications; (2) performed writing, editing, design, and illustration as required; (3) provided liaison with Duplicating Services, the University Editor, and similar agencies.

The Office of Editorial Services publications-wise was thus concerned with producing effective written communications for educational purposes.

Public Information. The Extension Division depended for its existence upon an informed public, and maintained strength to discharge its educational responsibilities through public support. This public support was not automatic. It came from deep conviction, based upon real understanding and full confidence, engendered through public information. But public information media needed assistance. They could not provide adequate coverage without the assistance of publicity personnel. The resulting public information program served to identify the institution with its publics and they with it in the interests of educational progress.

It was the aim of the Office of Editorial Services (1) to assist public information media in annoucning and "covering" the programs, activities, and services of the Extension Division, and (2) to assist all Division departments and bureaus in building public awareness of and response to their programs, activities, and services.

To accomplish these objectives the Office of Editorial Services (1) effected the day-by-day coverage of the Division in the form of newspaper releases; (2) developed supplementary publicity in the form of magazine features, radio scripts, photographs, TV clips, brochures, reports, displays, and other informational devices; (3) edited and published a "house organ"--

Inside Extension; (4) assisted centers and field men with publicity projects; (5) answered requests for information from the press; and (6) maintained liaison with the University News Service.

The Office of Editorial Services public information-wise was thus concerned with telling the story of the Division to its various publics clearly, continuously, and candidly; and in planning and coordinating promotional campaigns for Division programs.

EXTRA EXTENSION-SERVICES

While the Extension Division had become a primary vehicle for projecting University resources to the general public, it of course was not the only vehicle. There were the Agricultural Extension Service; the University Hospitals, Stations WHA, WHA-FM, and WHA-TV; the public service aspects of the professional colleges and schools of Engineering, Law, Education, Commerce, and Pharmacy; and the University Press--all integral parts of the University. And there were such private, state, and federal agencies associated with the University as the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters; the Forest Products Laboratory; the State Historical Society; the State Laboratory of Hygiene; the Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey; and the Wisconsin Psychiatric Institute--all working together in a state-wide outreach "profoundly influencing in many ways the lives of Wisconsin people through health, business, industry, agriculture, and governmental relations."[15]

Nor can you overlook that unique "public service" provided by Ivy Williamson and his Badger football team. Since he arrived in Madison in 1949, Williamson had what an AP sports writer termed "the golden touch." Going into the 1955 season, he had guided his players in Ben Ten encounters to 30 wins, nine losses, and four ties--the best record of any conference coach in that period.

This, too, needless to say, was potent public relations!

PUBLIC SERVICE DIVIDENDS

Extension work, predicted Henry Legler in 1906, will satisfy "the natural desire for a stake in the state university on the part of those whose circumstances prevent their taking its degree," and "the addition of such a body of citizens to the active friends of the University is a desirable means of promoting higher education in the state."[16]

Legler's statement of the rationale of public relations through public service was as succinct as his foresight was remarkable. As he suggested, it was indeed no accident that the University of Wisconsin's first period of physical and faculty

lushness coincided with the birth and flourishing of an Extension Division. Public service bread cast upon the waters of public relations returned a hundred-fold in the form of enhanced public support. Forty-five years later it again was no accident that a second UW building and budget boom coincided with Extension burgeoning.

Measuring exactly the effectiveness of a public relations program is, of course, no easier today than in 1915, but there are signs and portents with a good deal of validity. E.B. Fred used them in his 1951 Report.[17]

What People Were Saying. One way of measuring university enterprise, Fred said, is "to see what other people say about you." What the Colleges Are Doing had recently said:

"No state university of the past period of 50 years has attracted more attention for its statewide and nationwide educational endeavors than the University of Wisconsin. Few institutions...have shown such a consistent forward-looking attitude or have made such a proud record in teaching, research, and public service."

Fred was "pleased to report similar compliments in the press in the past year about our research fight against infantile paralysis, our lake investigations works, our film library, our Wisconsin Rural Writers' program, our Bureau of Community Development, our radio projects, our preceptorship program for medical students, our insurance school, and about many other aspects of University work."

The president was particularly proud to report this high praise from the Board of Visitors:

"The more the Board of Visitors becomes acquainted with the work of the University of Wisconsin, the higher the institution grows in the estimation of the Board... The character, ability, ardor, and zeal of those of the faculty and services who have appeared before the Board have impressed the Board members most favorably."

Fred might also have cited a Look Magazine declaration that "the ratio of work to marble is higher at Wisconsin than at any other university."

In fan mail, at least, it was clear in 1951 that the public relations through public service was paying off.

What People Were Doing. The real pay-off, however, was in money. In July, 1949, the University was granted $24,000,000 in tax funds by the State Legislature for 1949-51 operations--"by far the largest biennial budget ever granted by the people of Wisconsin to their State University," Fred reported. By 1953-55, the biennial grant was up to $30,000,000. A dozen years before, it had been less than $8,000,000. Extension's appropriation rose in that period from less than $1 million to over $3 million.

This was operating money. Building funds came along, too, enough to make possible "more new buildings recently completed, under construction, or immediately contemplated than at any other time in the 101-year history of the institution," Fred wrote.

Besides, during 1949-50, the Regents accepted gifts and grants totaling $1,767,430, representing 344 separate investments. "If philanthropy is a criterion of confidence, this is an encouraging record," Fred said, and it was.

What Statistics Showed. President Fred also took a look at statistics in 1951: enrollment, sixth in the nation; doctoral degrees granted, second in the nation; faculty members in the National Academy of Sciences, second in the nation. Fred even drew favorable conclusions from the fact that Wisconsin had become the first Big Ten school ever to have its athletes win two "most valuable player" awards in the same year!

What Self-Analysis Revealed. Fred's final measuring rod was the report of a faculty committee on University functions and policies, a report which concluded that "the University of Wisconsin is an extremely useful community of scholars" and "a great and noble institution."

The policy of public relations through public service was not solely responsible, of course, for the gratifying report card which E.B. Fred was able to draw up in 1951. But suffice it to say that without public relations, what people said, what people did, what statistics showed, and what self-analysis revealed about Wisconsin's University would have been something else again at mid-century.

ACID TESTS

It has been "the interests, needs, and demands of the people" that historically have led to the redefinition of institutional functions and policies, concluded the American Council on Education at its annual meeting in 1954.[18] Put in the words of this case study, it has been enlightened public relations which has played a key role in the development of higher education for American society.

Does the American university respond to public pressure? Or, in the words of the Council, does a campus give weight "to various constituencies in defining its particular responsibilities?"

In 1953 and 1954 the University of Wisconsin witnessed a quiet yet nontheless dramatic demonstration in the affirmative. Faced with absorbing a budget cut in 1953, a special faculty committee decreed the cut should be absorbed so heavily and exclusively by the Extension Division that its Extension Centers be abandoned. The public reaction was rapid and straightforward. In the Center cities, citizens' groups held

mass meetings, sent protest letters to Legislature and University. Under the capitol dome, assemblymen and senators let it be known that the Centers would be tampered with only at the risk of political wrath. The Centers stayed in the budget. What is more, by the late fall of 1954 the President was telling a meeting of the faculty that not only were the Centers to be anchored in the 1955-57 budget--they were to be strengthened measurably.

Here was a clearcut case of public relations at work, prompting a university to supply "all that was wanted by the people."

Does the American community respond to public service? In 1954 the University of Wisconsin witnessed effective affirmative answers to this proposition also.

In Racine, community organizations staged a "testimonial dinner" in tribute to the University Extension Center's eight years of service to that city. In Milwaukee, key citizens including the mayor let it be known that if there was to be a single state institution of higher education in that city, the integration should come under the University and not under the State Colleges--because it was the University which had built, in its Milwaukee Extension Division, an effective instrument of municipal education.

In responding to public interests and in generating public support, can an extension division yet attain the confidence and respect of the traditional campus? To this question, too, the University of Wisconsin heard an affirmative answer in 1954: with the resignation of the Summer Session dean, this mantle of residence status passed to Extension Director Ahlborn.

The Public Relations Lesson

The modern experience of the University of Wisconsin in public relations through public service has shown that in public relations, as in the human body, the symptoms of distress may lie in one organ and the cause in another. Whenever the practices called public relations were merely local alleviations of a deep-seated disorder, they had no more sustained effect than that of an aspirin tablet on a fever; but as the University and its Extension Division moved toward a professional relationship between campus client and PR counsel, the public service policies which emerged went to the heart of public relations problems.

In the heat of biennial controversy and the routine of daily tasks, the University PR man was not always able to convince himself that his was a substantial contribution to institutional welfare or that his University was indeed "an integral and dynamic part of the life of the state." But on a still night, when the dormitory lights were low and the Pleiades had climbed over Observatory Hill, if he sat quiet,

listened for the ruffle of oars on Mendota, and thought hard of everything he had seen and felt and tried to understand, then he might hear it--a vast pulsing harmony--its score inscribed on a hundred-thousand students, its notes the lives and deaths of patient professors, its rhythms spanning the state and the years.

VIII.

PRINCIPLES

The story of American higher education in the 20th century is, we have said, the story of the adjustment of the American university to the American environment. Nothing in our educational history has been more striking, as Turner observed, than this "steady pressure of democracy upon its universities to adapt them to the requirements of all the people."[1] A primary vehicle of adjustment has been the university extension division. We have now seen how a senior Division went about helping adapt its university "to the requirements of all the people." The policies and procedures involved in this adaptation we have called key aspects in university public relations, the era of the outreach university.

PUBLIC RELATIONS ABC'S

Now suppose we know nothing of what public relations is supposed to encompass. Suppose all we had to go on were this case study in university extension. From it, what can we deduce are the ABC'S of public relations?

A Description. First, the record makes it abundantly clear that public opinion is a potent factor in the formation of university functions and policies. Extension was a sail unfurled to catch what F.A.P. Barnard called "the wind of popular favor."

Indeed, as Creese notes, "the extramural activities of our modern universities have been imposed upon the faculties without their consent, or at least, without their desire. Extension was not adopted by vote of the faculty at the University of Wisconsin; it was adopted by vote of the Wisconsin Legislature. Extension was not formally approved by an established faculty at the University of Chicago; it was made part of the university plan by a new president of a new university who had not yet selected his faculty."[2]

Extension has not generally been adopted by universities, in other words, because it completes their educational effectiveness. On the contrary, it has in effect been forced upon them by the outside world, and added "for the most utilitarian of motives: ...(to) bring more money to the support of the university."[3]

So the soil for public relations is public opinion. In the long run it is the popular judgment of an institution of higher education which will prevail. If a university is not adapted to the exigencies of life, people will soon detect such failure and avoid such a university; "it is idle to try to prove to people that they ought to prefer a system that they unquestionably do not like."[4]

And if public opinion is the soil for public relations, it follows from the record that the root of the public relations process is polling--determining as accurately as possible the ill-defined, mercurial, changeable individual judgments that go to make up group attitudes. In the final analysis, an institution's public relations begins with people and ends with people, their attitudes and actions. The success of Extension in Wisconsin is due in no small part to the fact that the Division substituted John Doe for the dictionary as its standard of measure. To do so it developed an effective pulse-feeler--the field men.

A university is like spaghetti, you can pull it but you can't push it. The field men pulled the University out into its community. They played a key role in uncovering public needs and wants. Extension centers, interstitial courses and classes, school assembly programs, teacher training institutes--these and other Extension activities had their roots in the practical polling of the field men. Whatever they may have lacked as dignified representatives of scholarship, the field men made up for as vigorous reconnaisance troops.

Today the field-man concept has mushroomed into batteries of county agents, home demonstration agents, and 4-H club leaders to be found in each county, plus flying squadrons of University representatives criss-crossing the state. It is not unusual for one such to travel 3,000 miles a month.

Field men and their polling have two shortcomings. First, some field men sometimes interpret the clamorings of small but noisy pressure groups as groundswells in public sentiment and encourage their university to make unwarranted departures from time-honored standards and principles in the interests of cheap popularity. Second, some university administrators refuse to pay attention to any reports from their scouts. Ensconsed at regimental headquarters, they blithely ignore frantic phone calls from harassed outposts. "We are not as other men are," they seem to say. "The handwriting on the wall is not for us. The medieval university dwelt in splendid isolation and so can we." Fortunately for the health and vitality of the American university, the jumpy field man and the ostrich dean are becoming less and less common. Their more stable and realistic successors have convinced both the man of the town and the man of the gown that "university extension is an organized effort to give to the people not in college some of the advantages enjoyed by the one-half of one percent who are able to attend campus classes. It reaches out to the clerk, the workingman, the teacher, and the public official, and says to each, 'If you cannot go to your university, your university will come to you.' Agricultural extension makes better farmers, and general extension makes better workers, better teachers, and better citizens."[5]

If the perception of public opinion is the root of public relations, planning is revealed as the stalk. It is not enough merely for an institution to hold its finger to the wind, so to speak. The real work comes and the real genius shows in the job of translating public needs and wants into action programs which will do justice to the traditional standards of higher education, the demands of the hour, and the promise of tomorrow. Lathrop, Barnard, Chadborne, Bascom, Chamberlin, Adams--all felt the pull of the public, tugging away at conventional campus tent-strings. But it took a Van Hise to meet that pull with a will and a way to spread the university's canvas over the commonwealth.

The flower of public relations turns out to be communications. Only if good performance is coupled with good reporting does public support result. We have seen how Van Hise and Reber developed a corps of specialists to carry the message of the university directly, simply, and vigorously. But in the passage of time, two trends developed to dilute the effectiveness of University communications. The first was a tendency on the part of the University to forget that words are a valuable supplement to, but not a substitute for, deeds. The second was an increase in the competition for public attention--as Henry James put it, "the picture magazine keeps screaming 'Look at me, I am the thing.'" Not until the postwar University revitalized its public service program and itself moved into a utilization of the mass media did University public relations come into balance. In short, the term communications packs a good deal of glamour these days, but it is really an old term with old pitfalls--"with much communication will he tempt thee."

Our study shows that the fruit of public relations is public support. Whenever the University's functions and policies have struck that neat balance between responsibility to educational traditions and responsiveness to public needs, then the University has thrived. Whenever either side of the scale has been over-weighted, the University has stood on the street-corner, tin cup in hand. Since 1918 the story of the University of Wisconsin has been one of a continual search for two ingredients in the recipe for effective public relations obtained in the Van Hise era. The one is high-quality undergraduate instruction. The other is a goodwill embassy. Van Hise's glorification of research put the former on the skids. His ability personally to represent the latter has been difficult to recreate.

The way to recapture the first ingredient is to repeat the policies that built it prior to 1900. Although President Adams had an "unfailing sympathy with scholarly aspirations," his primary interest was in his students. "The University is for the students," was a dictum he never tired of repeating. This spirit governed his administrative policy. Eager as he was for research, and profoundly as he believed in it

as an indispensable factor of universty life, he would never sacrifice teaching to research. The University, Adams insisted, was "chiefly an inspiration and opportunity," and he wanted good teachers to make it that. Few aspects of University administration he considered more carefully than the matter of appointments and promotions. Adams kept a card catalogue of promising young teachers and, when shifts were to be made, not infrequently visited the candidate and formed a judgment of his capacity by observing him teaching his classes.[6]

The way to recapture the second ingredient--a goodwill embassy--is scarcely less difficult. The University of 1955 was not the University of 1915. It was bigger, it was more complex, it was less personal, its publics were more diverse and each was more demanding. The long and the short of it is that a university like Wisconsin today virtually needs two presidents--the internal faculty leader and the external public relations expert. To find these traits combined to a high degree in a single man is nigh an impossibility in terms of the modern scope of both jobs. In a sense, one negates the other. Frank in his heyday was a dramatic emissary of the University, but he lost control of his staff. Dykstra in many ways had the making of a second Van Hise, but his was not the favorable climate that Van Hise enjoyed. Fred internally was Van Hise and more, but externally he was not the "front man" that Van Hise was. To backstop Fred in the outfield there had to be a series of PR assistants, under that title and others less obvious. Under a superb front man there would have had to be a corps lieutenants holding the faculty together.

As Vance has so cogently stated, a concomitant of modern society has been the development of increasingly complex patterns of relationships among an increasing number of organizations and institutions. The problems of a president in dealing with the multiple and often contradictory forces affecting a state university--this has made that office one of the less simple of the many positions of administrative responsibility which have been created to prevent these patterns from dissolving into chaos.

A university involves many groups, whose interests and relation to the institution often make it difficult for them to judge or be judged alike; yet friendly cooperation must be maintained in and among the faculty, the students, the non-teaching staff, the state legislature, the governing board, the academic neighbors, and the public at large if the university is to progress and prosper. A state university has relations with business, labor, and agriculture; with the community of its residence and with the far corners of the state; with liberal and conservative, rich and poor; with religious and ethnic groups, professional associations, taxpayers' alliances, reform

groups and patriotic organizations; with state and federal bureaus; with other schools, especially those of its own state. It must guide all, yet serve all and hamper none. A state university is a beacon of guidance for the commonwealth; it is an adjunct of government, exposed to the political storms by which the control of that government is determined. Politics assail the university, yet the university must try to remain relatively aloof from politics. It is expected to demonstrate, in a manner appropriate to the dignity of the state, the generosity of the state toward its citizens and its far-sighted appreciation of the higher values, yet inexpensively withal. A university is expected to advance knowledge, but not to upset accepted ideas; to dispense any aspirant; to be esthetic and idealistic in a thoroughly practical way; to aid its students in the assorting and balancing of relative values; and to win all of its football games.

At the helm of this institution, picking his way among reefs, buffeted by cross winds and beset by counter currents, stands the president. Whether the university determines its own course or drifts before the forces of the biennial moment is to a considerable degree determined by his administrative ability. Regardless of the number and the capability of the assistants whom he may have in charge of the university's various divisions, balance among them must be maintained by the president on the basis of a thorough knowledge of each, and the responsibility for the conduct of each rests ultimately with him. Adequately to recognize and define the important problems confronting the institution, to devise or select the most satisfactory solutions, to fit these solutions into an overall program which gives due consideration to the needs both of the present and of the future, and to secure for this program the support of diverse and sometimes antagonistic groups--all this requires ability transcending the implications of any one term such as manager, scholar, publicist, or politician.[7]

A Definition. What are the xylem and phloem running through the root, stalk, and flower of our public-relations plant? The xylem is an emphasis on people. It is a feeling for people, a combination of curiosity about them and a concern for them, which separates the routine educational program from the effective enterprise. Social engineering requires a special kind of insight--a mixture of sound psychology plus a genuine liking for people. The expert couples scientific data on what people think with a keen appreciation of the emotional forces behind that thinking. He never forgets that a "public" is nothing more nor less than a collection of individual human beings. He never tries to substitute fancy but cold educational machinery for the countless little daily acts of fellowship which bind a university to its constituents.

Professor Wilbur Schramm, director of the Communications Institute at the University of Illinois, has formulated an outline of effective communications based on this emphasis on people. He calls his outline TAMAR. Each letter stands for a word; put together they form the essence of communication.

T stands for TARGET. You have to know the people you are trying to reach, their motives, their backgrounds, their prejudices.

A stands for ATTENTION. To make words meaningful you must relate them to deeds which people can see and understand.

M stands for MEANING. You have to talk the language of your target, not yours.

A stands for ACCEPTANCE. You have to start at a point of mutual agreement or interest, then introduce a new issue and gradually work back to the attitude you are trying to change.

R stands for RESPONSE. You want your words and deeds to have some effect. Ask yourself just what effect you want each particular program to have, always beginning with things as they are in the public clime, not where you wish they were.

TAMAR as a catch-phrase was unknown to Van Hise and Reber, but we have seen how they practiced each of its components in launching university extension. Van Hise formulated his "university ideal" not in terms of building or budgets, laboratories, or libraries, but in terms of a campus extending itself "to every home in the state." His finest accolade was not a salutation from the president of Harvard but a note from a Rock County housewife: "I never knew the University was for me!"

The phloem running through our public-relations plant is a spirit of service, a deep feeling for others. Loyalty and devotion, sacrificial work, a philosophy which drives men and women to give and not count the cost--these characterize the way of life of the adjusted university. It is the belief that a university's resources grow as they are shared which has distinguished university extension as an expression of the new higher education.[8]

What, then, is public relations? Public relations is not just another name for high-powered publicity and advertising. It is not the promotion of sensational activities to attract public attention. It is more than the game of persuasion stepped up on a gigantic scale. Public relations is an art, a science, a state of mind, a way of life--which seeks to bring about "a harmony of understanding between any institution and the publics it serves and upon whose good will it depends."[9] Public relations does not, of course, solve all of the problems which arise in education activities. Nor does it magically assure the university the interst and goodwill of its many publics. But rightly used and intelligently directed, public relations can aid immeasurably in

gaining that public acceptance and support by which universities live. Public relations, in short, involves more than telling people the facts about higher education. Correctly applied, PR (1) informs presidents and professors what the public thinks of education; (2) shows changes in the climate of public opinion; (3) helps campus leaders determine what they should do to gain the support and goodwill of their publics; (4) plans ways and means of getting that support; and (5) builds policies and carries on activities designed to win and hold cooperation and enthusiasm. In the process of doing these things, it encompasses a great many functions, concepts, and techniques.

COOPERATION A KEY

A key public relations concept is cooperation. Extension stands for the "good neighbor" policy in university life. The extension division was sired by a new spirit of cooperation between town and gown. It will enter new frontiers of service only as cooperation continues to grow as a hallmark of extension work.

Intra-Division. Even though the extension division has exhibited more flexibility and adaptability than any other university unit, there are still ways in which the division can integrate its outreach more fully and effectively. There is, for example, precious little interplay between correspondence study and the other major forms of extension activity. Could not short course and institute work incorporate correspondence study techniques? Could not extension centers utilize more extensively the offerings of correspondence study? What would be wrong with the package library bureau "promoting" correspondence study as well as a "great books" movement? Perhaps the budding integration between TV and correspondence study is a key to ways and means of linking study by mail to the gamut of extension enterprises.

Inter-Division. There is an undeveloped possibility for an interlocking of extension programs across the country, say in the preparation and revision of specialized postgraduate correspondence courses for physicians, engineers, and other professional groups. A former president of the NUEA has proposed that the members of that association cooperate in the production of some 50 new courses, each providing the texts for a single course. The scheme would be especially effective if a central office of distribution could be set up to receive enrollments and assign instructors. "A strong national program built on democratic planning and cooperation" might breathe new life into the non-credit field.[10]

Inter-Group. In extending the education resources of its university, a general extension division will find it desirable to cooperate closely with a wide range of public and private agencies, particularly governmental units, service organizations, professional societies, trade associations, and labor unions. Through such cooperation

an extension division can better assure that its programs supply the needs and desires of its adult constituents in a most practical way.

Cooperation will typically be expressed through three broad types of activity: (a) teaching, such as in an institute or short course; (b) research, such as in a trade area survey; and (c) special service, such as in a continuous educational campaign or an executive secretaryship.

At its inception each working relationship is generally subjected to the test of three criteria: (a) Is the need for the service broad? Will it benefit more people than any other work which might be undertaken on their behalf? (b) Is the thinking public asking that such service be provided? Are constituents awake to their own need for university action? (c) Is the university, with its unique resources and high objectives, the appropriate agent for serving the public in this matter? Is the extension division particularly fitted and able to do this particular job?

Underlying this cooperation of university extension with a non-university agency are the following fundamental tenets:

1. A university is a broad, balanced assemblage of many disciplines and facilities, each of which has a responsibility to contribute to the prestige of its particular institution and to the repute of higher education generally. Consequently the full joint sponsorship of a program or activity should be reserved for relations with large public agencies or those private agencies whose aims, aspirations, and reputation are at least equal to those of the university itself.

2. A university is an educational institution. It is not a hotel or a chamber of commerce, or a pleader for a selfish point of view. Consequently it cannot sponsor a "canned" program. It must make sure that each public service be kept in reasonable touch with scholarship by exercising a major role in program planning.

3. A university, regardless of the source of its financial support, is a public agency whose responsibilities to the general public always exceed its responsibilities to any one public. Consequently the results of teaching, research, or service are to be made public, through publication or otherwise, in the manner that the university may deem desirable, keeping in mind that the public interest or welfare shall be dominant.

4. A university is a reservoir of culture as well as of techniques. It must put first the education of adults as persons and citizens, recognizing that their training as competent technicians is necessary, but of secondary importance. Consequentl any cooperative program must be focussed on the broadening of general intellectual horizons as well as on the meeting of immediate training needs.

While it is not practical to state a standard operating procedure which can be expected to apply in all the highly varied activities of a general extension division,

the basic principles of cooperation outlined above can be expected to be expressed in such working arrangements as follows:

1. The university should exercise program control. At the maximum this means that the subject matter and participating personnel of cooperatively-sponsored programs be selected by the university. At a minimum this means the university retains veto power over program content and participants. The pragmatic test of any program is this: Are the unique resources and objectives of an institution of higher education sharply reflected in program content and personnel?

2. The university should exercise administrative control. At the maximum this means that the university handle such procedures as registration and finanace. At the minimum this means that financial arrangements be under the control of a public agency.

3. The university should exercise publications control. A detailed report will typically be rendered to the cooperating agency, but the results of the service program will be made public by the university in any manner that it may deem desirable.

4. Cooperative sponsorship should not be described in terms of the university generally but in terms of specific departments, bureaus, divisions, and colleges.

It is the interplay of life and learning which distinguishes the pattern of American education. As a unique vehicle for this interplay, university extension must always be conscious of, and devoted to, a dual role: (a) to be responsible for the conservation of the great liberal traditions of higher education, and (b) to be responsive to public needs and demands. Cooperation with professional and trade associations is an excellent means of achieving the latter aim. But only to the extent that the initial objective is met is univeristy extension truly serving the cause of adult education in a democratic society.

INTERNAL HOUSEKEEPING

Extra-division cooperation cannot come to pass abundantly, of course, until extension sets its internal house in order. Here the PR problem centers around people, places, and programs. Whenever a university attempts any experimenting, whenever it goes out of its traditional bounds, these problems crop up.[11]

People. The first and primary difficulty arises in the appointment of staff members. Here at the most sensitive spot in university administration the extension division has inevitably both caused and suffered interference. Extension teachers, even those devoting full time to extension, have to come from a residence department somewhere and more of them seek to retain at least informal ties. But this arrangement implies that in all questions of appointment, tenure, promotion, or salary the residence department and the division must agree in their recommendations. The responsibility ordinarily

held by the department has to be shared with an alien institution whose interests and purposes may seem to be far removed from those of the department. If the two sets of recommendations agree, the only difficulty to be met is that of a rather unwieldy form of administration. When, however, there is radical disagreement between the two recommendations, the strain on administrative officers is great and there is serious danger that in the midst of such divided counsels individual professors may suffer unmerited and serious injury to their careers.

It is sometimes suggested that this difficulty would be avoided if extension staff members were divorced completely from residence. But when this is done, essential values are lost. First, it is important for the long-range vitality of extension that its staff members be accepted as members of the regular university faculty. This is desirable for purposes of mutal acquaintance and understanding, and it is essential for the sake of that interplay of teaching, research, and service which distinguishes effective university operations. Second, under the present departmental organization of universities, it is very difficult to secure outstanding staff members if they are not given departmental standing. Tenure, promotion, the securing of other positions, one's rating among his colleagues--these are practically determined by departmental influence. The average professor finds it inconvenient to give up his ties with a department in favor of complete membership in extension circles.

Another suggestion is that the extension division should have a rotating staff. Members of residence departments would be delegated to the division for short periods--say one or two years--and would then return to their regular assignments. This plan would have a decided advantage in keeping clear the connections with departments and it would widen the acquaintance of the division throughout the university. It does not, however, remove an administrative difficulty. It would still be necessary for department and division to agree together as to which wandering member should leave, and when he should return to, his natural habitat. Further, the arrangement would hamper the work of the division in that extension problems in teaching are not quickly solved or even quickly grasped. They require long-time consideration and practice. Extension must have a fairly constant group of men and women to give coherence and continuity to its program.

These people need two kinds of equipment. They need command of method as well as of content. As a generalist in approach if not in subject, the extensionist must know human nature just as any artist knows his materials. He must understand how intelligence grows. He must assess capacities and incapacities, powers and impediments. To find such qualitites is difficult in men and women wedded to advanced scholarship in particular fields. It is more apt to be found in people who by their very bents are not in close kinship with residence professors.

What is the best way of dealing with this staffing problem? We cannot simply inveigh against departmental organization; we have to live with it. Nor can we say there should be no extension division. The only solution would seem to be some sort of compromise in which a division will staff itself generally with two kinds of people: (a) the subject-matter expert completely acceptable to a residence department, and (b) the adult-education specialist willing to draw stature and satisfactions from outside the normal capus strata. Which will predominate will depend on the local situation and terrain. In any regard, the primary task of the extension administrator is to keep these two different breeds of cats talking, working, and growing together. Perhaps in the fullness of time they will spawn an extension professor or two who exhibit the high point of each parent. And then we can turn the field of adult education into an academic discipline in its own right, with "built in" prestige and acceptability.

Places. The second difficulty is the housing problem. Any johnny-come-lately to the university scene is bound to experience rations-and-quarters shortages. Teaching and research still take precedence over extension on building-priority lists. Dormitories built for students have neither the will nor the way to accomodate adult conferences. Student unions appreciate extension revenue but do not look upon extension problems with too much sympathy. Residence departments never have room for an extension specialist although there always seems to be a corner for an extra graduate assistant or two.

This problem can only be licked by a frontal attack. If extension cannot generate enough public support for adequate housing, it had better begin to mend the holes in its public-relations fences.

Programs. The use of intensive and short-period conferences and courses has grown rapidly recently. "It is the most promising field for immediate development," says Baldwin Woods, because "it suits the American temper, it meets the needs of professional people, it gives results which can be recognized immediately, and it offers opportunity for collaboration in virtually every field of knowledge or human activity."[12] The fact is that sooner or later, nearly every professional man and woman finds themself running out of gas, partly because new knowledge has accumlated too rapidly for them to assimilate, and partly because of their own inertia. They experience an intellectual let-down, as the gap between what they know and what they ought to know widens. But simply to dish out to the professional person warmed-over university course material is not going to help him or her. A Nieman Fellow has propounded these requirements for successful programming in adult education:

"The individual must have the mental capacity to do university work of graduate caliber; he must know what it is he wants to learn; and he must give up all thought of working for credits and degrees. A curriculum planned for the training of scholars is ill-adapted to the needs of laymen. One must plan one's work without regard to academic requirements and then use the resources of the university as they fit in."[13]

In a word--the word which has marked Extension enterprise at Wisconsin--adult education must be flexible. Courses are to be established and withdrawn in response to popular interests and without regard to degree credits. Men and women with limited formal education are to be helped in developing cultural understanding; people highly trained in one branch of learning are to find general introductions to fields new to them; and those seeking new skills are to get vocational and semivocational instruction. There is to be no dualism of purpose in adult education programs. They should seek only to transmit cultural or technical knowledge in terms understandable to the layman. As such, they depart wholly from the aristocratic concept of educating the gentleman, from the intellectual concept of educating the ablest minds, and from the creative concept of adding to the sum of knowledge.[14] The subjects offered will be "strange, and sometimes even fantastic, in their diversity," appealing to "that great...mass of men and women, young, middle-aged, and old."[15]

This democratization of the univesity is costly. But nothing in the long run would be so expensive as the failure of the university--through adult education--to contribute to the survival of democracy.

Carrying the university to the people must mean literally that, and not simply carrying people to the university. If it is true that only a home-going pastor makes a church-going congregation, it is equally true that only a community-oriented extension division makes a university-supporting public.

PUBLIC SERVICE DIVIDENDS

The primary result of effective external cooperation and sound internal housekeeping is service to citizens, and the concomitant building of public interest, enthusiasm, and support. But extension also has corollary effects which contribute subtly to university health.

Syntheses. Educational planning and teaching should be done not be large faculties en masse nor by collections of individual professors but by small and cohesive groups of scholars. The principle involved here is that the greatest need of the university just now is coherence, unity of interest and intention. On the one hand, it is imperative that in any group which carries forward the university flag the different fields of knowledge shall be represented. But, on the other hand, the essential task is that of bringing these elements into order, into meaning. And to accomplish that purpose

the compactness of the group is a prime requisite.[16] It is exactly here--in the "cross-fertilization" extension brings about between departments and among the members of ad hoc committees--that it makes one of its principal contributions to the intramural life of the university. By the very nature of its work, by seeking ever to relate theory to practice and to apply knowledge to community problems, extension cuts across departmental lines. An institute for country editors, for example, may very well involve representatives from the School of Journalism, the Medical School, the College of Agriculture, the Law School, and the Letters and Science department of political science, as well as the Extension Division itself. In planning the institute, these professors will not only focus diverse academic disciplines on the practical problems of a single profession; they will inevitably also move toward developing that "genuine and intimate intellectual acquaintance with one another" which members of a university staff so critically need. Chicago's William Rainey Harper once said his big job was to keep his professors talking to each other. Perhaps this was one of the subtle reasons why he was one of the first university presidents to set up an extension division.

Parental Rapport. One of the continuing obstacles to the work of the American professor is the lack of understanding of his venture by the public which he serves, even by the parents whose sons and daughters are given into his hands. Neither parents nor community can get higher education for young people simply by paying for it. They must share in the process.[17] Extension offers a way. Extension centers are practically the private property of local parents. Other parents keep pace with their offspring through study by mail. Still others use special classes and conferences to keep abreast of current issues.

Managerial Attitudes. Extension's practical concern with making ends meet, with serving up what the public will have as well as what it ought to have, brings to the campus a work-a-day attitude which acts to offset the somewhat unworldly air of the residence campus. No professor can work in extension without losing his nonchalant indifference with respect to the relation between procedure and results. No professor can work in extension without losing any innate tendency toward mental eccentricity and exhibitionism. Particularly in its realistic attitude toward financing does extension bring to the university a salutary air. Extension people know that behind the tall columns of figures in the annual report of the business manager there lies the university's blunt need for funds. In the academic community generally, and particularly in the more sequestered portions of it, the biennial joust with legislature or donors is often misunderstood, but not by extension. The function of the sound and fury is to vote money for the university, but beyond that the political and personal needs of

legislators and philanthropists have to be satisfied. In the tradition of American politics and business, requests for appropriations are often accompanied by oration. The oratory, whether in the legislative chamber, in the newspapers, or in corporation meetings, very often becomes intemperate, inflammatory, or totally over-drawn, depending on the political necessities to be served. Politicians have a biennial if not perennial capacity for shocked surprise, pained indignation, and magnanimous praise upon learning publicly what the professors are doing or what they are not doing. The extension division typically helps restore the university's sanity in the midst of all the thunder and lightning.[18]

Vivified Instruction. The value of extension is not only to be realized where one expects it, in the community, but also in the effect which it may have upon the resident teaching program of the university. Adult students are not children, docile and to be disciplined. They are mature people who bring experience and case material not otherwise available to professors. Adults want applicable knowledge, not facts to be memorized or stored away in notebooks until examination time. Lectures have to be edited with an eye to this audience; warmed-over course notes will not suffice. In bringing the problems and interests of Main Street to the campus, extension is not apt to bring about a sudden reformation in university instruction, but at least a way of departure from traditional methods and standardized content in indicated. As departmental lines fade in extension, we may also expect a certain piecing together again of the fragmented approach to knowledge which marks the residence pattern. University extension offers a corrective for these "specialists who beget specialists" if, as Creese trusts, "there can be brought to the college campus a real sense of the work of the world, more specific appreciation of the callings to which young people respond and of responsibility for human welfare and the needs of society." Who can tell what miracle would transpire if every professor could test his knowledge, skill, methods, and standards on mature and critical disciples? The presence at a university of laymen who can rove across departmental lines and fit together scholarly findings in a realistic way can do much to take the curse off academic specialization. As Reber put it long ago, "Truth does not belong to the cloister more than to the shops and homes, or to the streets and fields, but is inseparably of them all. Education cannot be removed from intimacy with the common things of life"--[19] unless it is to atrophy.

Research. Extension buttresses research. Investigations in applied fields particularly, such as in the broad areas of technology and of social science, can utilize, and be utilized by, the resources of extension. Agricultural extension has long used its county agents to ferret out the practical farm problems which can be brought back to the laboratories and test plots to stimulate thinking and working on the part of scholars

As Frank Graham put it forcefully, "the intellectual life of the university" is "quickened by contact and interchange" with people and their problems. The university "can never lose its common touch without treason to its own nature and without drying up the springs from which flow the living waters of its own life."[20]

Recruiting. Recruiting is a word that is taboo in genteel university circles. Universities do not recruit students, it is said. They counsel and guide. By whatever name, the annual scramble for freshmen is very real, and it would do extension a serious injustice to fail to mention its role in this regard. When a university sends its representatives throughout the state--teaching classes, conducting seminars, holding conferences, advising groups and organizations--these representatives cannot help but make the kinds of personal contacts which result in a wider public knowledge of the campus and a greater flow of freshmen.

Curricular Experimentation. In the unfettered classrooms of extension more than one professor has developed novel methods of presentation which he would have been unable to do in more reserved residence surroundings. And at extension centers there have been developed course sequences which have later been adapted at home base. A short course for carpenters at the Milwaukee Extension Division, for example, later matured into a four-year course in light building industry at Madison. And journalism-instruction techniques developed at the Racine Center had their impact on the mother school.

Center Contributions. While the educational offerings at an extension center are obviously not so varied as those available on a large campus, particularly in the area of co-curricular activities, the instruction which is offered may be of a type which is better suited to some students. Because the center is small, a maximum amount of personal guidance, counseling, and instructional tutoring is available to each student, and this may get some freshmen over the hump who would otherwise fall by the academic wayside.

All of these secondary effects of extension, however, pale before the overriding fact that it is in the building of public goodwill that extension accrues its most valuable dividend.

PUBLIC RELATIONS "LAWS"

We have now examined the story of one university's venture in public relations through public service. In this case study, are there not certain PR patterns which emerge as "public relations laws," akin to natural phenomena?

Air Pressure. The first may be said to be the PR "law" of air pressure. As James Russell Lowell once noted, "The pressure of public opinion is like the atmosphere. You can't see it, but all the same it is 16 pounds to the square inch." In public relations, as in the physical universe, nature abhors a vacuum. When closed doors and

and executive sessions create a news vacuum, the vacuum never stays empty. Rumors and "think pieces" rush in.

Before he inaugurated the University of Wisconsin's first overt publicity efforts, we have seen how President Adams was wont to complain that the prevailing public impression gave athletics and social events a chief part in University life. After the organization of regular campus communications with the news media, Adams was able to report to the Regents that "the public is becoming more intelligent in regard to what the university really is."[21] But whenever, in the course of history, the University relaxed those publicity efforts, the press was again filled frequently with frothy and misleading yarns.

An American institution simply cannot live in a world apart. If it does not seek to fill news columns with constructive releases, the law of air pressure will fill those columns with less desirable material. There is no vacuum in public relations. You may have good PR or poor PR, but you will always have PR.

Equal Stresses. A related PR "law" is the law of equal stresses. Like a gun which compensates by recoil for the forward velocity of its projectile, the public accommodates the publicity efforts of an institution by focusing on that institution an inordinate interest. Whenever a publicity man plunks a news release on the city desk, he is saying to the editor, in effect, "My institution is news!" And he must not be surprised, therefore, when that editor proposes to make news out of an institutional foible which the publicity man would prefer to keep buried. Through its public relations pioneering in the period between 1900 and 1902, we have seen how the University of Wisconsin won for itself reams of favorable copy in the state press. But it also rated big headlines whenever an unfriendly public official set out to investigate this or that campus lapse. The PR man, in short, cannot expect to have his cake and eat it, too. The sword that seeks to make an institution newsworthy cuts two ways. All the PR man can do is keep the edge sharp.

Momentum. Then there is the PR "law" of momentum. What Walter Lippman called the pictures in people's heads are among the most fixed states of matter. Once an institution gains a favorable reputation, the momentum of its bandwagon is tremendous. Contrariwise, the toughest PR job is to erase a widespread misconception. A salute from the president of Harvard to "the greatest state university" helped vault the University of Wisconsin to a high plain of public acceptance which it has been able to retain pretty well for 50 years. An offhand remark about "the public be damned" has helped put American business periodically behind the eight-ball.

Gravity. As in nature, the PR "law" of momentum is opposed by the law of gravity. What goes up can come down. Initial momentum is not enough to keep a favorable picture

fixed in the public mind indefinitely. There must be constantly renewed those accelerating policies and functions which built sound public relations in the first place. Neglect them and the balloon falls. The University of Wisconsin has occasionally paid a high price for departing from the public relations concepts laid down by Van Hise and Bleyer.

Carrying Capacity. The ecological law of carrying capacity operates in public relations. Crowd too many deer into a winter yard, and the deer browse out the range and then starve. Paint too strong a picture of an institution, and the public loses its capacity to cherish that institution. An over-zealous reporter once described Wisconsin as "the university that runs a state." It took the UW several years to recover from that betraying kiss unwittingly bestowed. A political campaign was even fought on the platform, "Do you want a state university or a university state?"

Carrying capacity has its application, too, in the broader aspects of university management. The carrying capacity of a pond effectively limits the total weight of fish which that pond will support. By planting more fish you can raise the number of fish but not their total poundage. Your choice is between thousands of "keepers" and millions of runts, unless you first lift the natural carrying capacity by manipulating food, cover, and other factors. The carrying capacity of a campus likewise effectively limits the kind of instruction that campus will support. By enrolling more freshman you can raise the quantity of students but not of education imparted. Crowded conditions on a campus will produce the same complaints from disappointed parents that a crowded pond will illicit from disappointed anglers. The alternative is to raise the university's carrying capacity by increasing its facilities, and here the university extension centers have played a major role. Without a flexible, vigorous extension center system of high quality, the University of Wisconsin's public relations in 1945-1955 would not have been anywhere near as sound as they were.

Succession. Another PR "law" is similar to the botantical law of plant succession. Allow a piece of plowed ground in southern Wisconsin to lie fallow, and the first year you will get a crop of vigorous but ungainly ragweed, foxtail, and other annual weeds. In succeeding years you will get forbs like mullen and vervain, followed by sod-grasses. After a hazel-brush and sumac stage, the plot will climax in a wooded grove. Start a youngster out as a university press agent, and at first he will produce more hay-fever than fruit. Then he graduates to public relations and does a good job of controlling erosion. But it is only a question of time before he becomes a gnarled professor, intent on spreading more shade than seeds. The life-span of a vigorous university PR man is usually not more than 15 years. By that time he has matured into a committee chairman, and turning out copy is beneath his dignity. Spring burning or heavy harrowing

can delay the cycle somewhat, but in the long run it is as unalterable as the seasons. What new insights and interpretations a university doesn't get out of a PR man before he turns 50, it never will. At Wisconsin, Andy Hopkins was the exception which proves the rule.

Water Properties. In PR, water seeks its own level. Confine your presidential addresses to the minutia of student statistics, and you fail to stimulate that "generous method and large spirit" for which John Bascom pled. Emphasize prom queens in your news releases at the expense of developments in research, and you recruit more playboys and pompon girls than scholars. Build a service project for the benefit of management, and labor ignores your pleas for support. Try to muddle through without vigorous leadership, and you mobilize no arsenal of democracy. The quality of its leaders makes the quality of a university and its PR program. You may have your facilities, you may create committees, and you may find and spend money; yet you will add nothing but one more buck private to the ranks of the universities unless you are equipped with at least a few professors, administrators, students, and PR men who are leaders. When leaders come together on a campus today, the whole state may share in the higher pressure which they generate.

Multiple Factors. In the management of game the wildlife expert learns there is no royal road to abundance. The pheasant crop, for example, is conditioned by the interaction of many forces--food supply, cover, cycles, weather, predation, hunting pressure, age and sex ratios, profound physiological factors, and others--all operating throughout the year and around the clock to fix a survival threshold. The game manager who fails to reckon with the complexity of his task is in for disappointment, because in the long run, the ringneck responds only to 360-degree management.

In the influencing of public opinion the university public relations man learns there is likewise no magic key to success. The factors conditioning public opinion are even more numerous and complex than those obtaining in wildlife management, even if a superficial reading of history will sometimes lead university administrators to think otherwise. Because Wisconsin's so-called "golden age" happened to coincide with a series of sports championships, it became fashionable at Madison in leaner years to say "there is nothing wrong with the University's public relations that a winning football team won't cure." That bubble burst in 1952 when a varsity trip to the Rose Bowl coincided with a budgetary shellacing in the State Legislature. Title-winning teams are no more an absolute "open sesame" to public favor today than they were in 1912.

In plain fact, university public relations are not simple and cannot be made simple. To try to reduce university planning to the rule-of-thumb level is to court disaster. Every university department has a dozen windows on the world. Each university policy

has a dozen points of view, some positively contradictory, some quasi-conflicting, others mutually supporting, all of them important to somebody, each of them meriting decent attention if not full allegiance. Every university function has a dozen godfathers. University of Wisconsin extension was not conceived by the Vilas-Hitt Report alone. Farm organizations and farm leaders had made themselves felt. The Board of Regents charted a new path in vocational education. The Legislature contributed financial support. Key faculty members pitched in to make the farmers institutes work. In a later day the same kind of 360-degree participation was to put up a new University library, and, as in 1885, various parties would claim the whole credit.

Only the charlatan PR man proposes to cure all manner of academic aches with a simple home remedy. The conscientious PR man won't promise to cure anything, even if he has a whole clinic at his disposal, because he is abundantly aware that PR is much more a sympathetic art than an exact science.

In wildlife management, biologists are coming more and more to realize that it is the wholly fortuitous piling up of favorable factors or the chance pyramiding of unfavorable forces which can produce record peaks and valleys in game populations. There is no reason to believe that chance does not play a role in university public relations also. The PR man who happens to be around when the cards are running right is the PR man who can go down in history as a genius. The PR man who has the misfortune to have luck against him is the PR man who folds his tent and slips into obscurity.

Key Factors. Public relations and game management, of course, are far more than luck. Yet, the fact that each involves multiple factors is no cause to throw up one's hands in despair. Certain key factors are always more important than others. In wildlife management, field biologists say it is a home which game needs above all else--food and cover. In university public relations, faculty acceptance is the basic ingredient which undergirds all the rest. The professor is the university, and no university policy will succeed which does not become faculty policy. This does not mean that each PR project must have prior faculty approval, but it does mean no PR project can attain full stature until it wins faculty acceptance. University extension was born outside of a faculty meeting, but on no campus has it come of age until it has won professional blessing. Wherever the resident faculty still looks askance at off-campus service, university extension remains emasculated, no matter how popular it may be up-state. Like wildlife, university extension needs a home above all else.

Indigenousness. A 64-dollar word describes a 64-dollar public relations "law"--the law of indigenousness. According to Webster's, this means the state of being "native, inherent, natural." To be effective, a public relations program should be at home on its particular campus and in the company of its particular publics. Its roots should go deep into native soil. Its foliage should be as typical of its Alma Mater as the

school colors and the school song. There is always a tendency for too much aping to go on in university extension and university public relations. What has made the Wisconsin Extension Division outstanding has been its distinctly Badger flair, just as what made English extension work in the first place was the fact that it spoke with a cultured Cambridge accent.

A foreign visitor once remarked that, at Wisconsin, the freshmen look like graduate students, the graduate students look like professors, and the professors look like farmers. This is the state of being indigenous.

Public relations itself as a discipline holds great promise because it is indigenous to the American environment. As Cutlip and Center have pointed out, an examination of the social, economic, and political background of the United States will demonstrate these things:

1. The failure of communications to keep pace effectively with the changing nature of society.

2. The swiftly accelerating pace of technological developments, multiplying the number of adjustments required within the environment.

3. The steady growth of the power of public opinion, a power which has steadily grown with the extension of government and popular control of that government, a power which compels adequate communication and satisfactory adjustment of conflicting interests.[22]

Out of this rocky yet arable soil is shooting the specialist in communications and his specialized programs, aiming toward what John Dewey called "a responsive art of communication" which will bring democracy into its own, "for democracy is a name for a life of free and enriching communion."[23]

Nitrogen Cycle. In university enterprise there is a "nitrogen cycle" which requires the same kind of attention as the nitrogen cycle in agriculture. Research is the leguminous plant and scientists are the root nodule bacteria that draw conceptual schemes and "fix" new facts. Teaching and public service thrive on this new knowledge. Without it they become necrotic and wither. The university which tried to operate without constant refertilization by basic research is like the farmer who never rotates his crops. There can be, on the other hand, such a thing as too much nitrogen. In concentrated form it "burns" roots. And there is such a thing as a consuming emphasis on research which vitiates both undergraduate instruction and adult education. The public relations goal here is a state of balance--the reciprocal action of teaching, searching, and serving.

Ecology. There is an ecological principle which says that the fauna is determined by the flora, and the flora is determined by land use as it impinges on the sequence

of plant coverings inherent in the site. The same is true in university-state relations. A university is always a reflection of the food and cover of its environment. To say that a state has a better--or a worse--university than it deserves is to defy both a law of ecology and a law of public relations. On the other hand, to say that a university cannot rise above its "natural habitat" is untrue. Just as a wildlife manager can manipulate flora and fauna by altering land use practices in order to produce bigger and better games crops, so can a university, over the years, alter its environment through effective public relations in order to develop surroundings more hospitable to educational progress. Like the wildlife manager, however, a university can go only so far as fast, lest drastic changes of the landscape result in unforeseen flash flood and vegetative excesses which place the PR biota virtually beyond control.

Genetics. Just as a university's input is controlled by "ecological" principles, so its output is controlled by "genetic" laws. Its long-range influence upon its community will reflect sharply the quality of the educational experience received in and from campus halls by thousands of citizens--youths and adults. Given sturdy university stock, a state can expect that its students will "breed true." Allow a university to subsist at a meager level, and the state will reap runted educational service.

But just as there are mutants in nature, so are there genetic "sports" in university-state relations which defy the laws of heredity. Some of these mutants will exhibit heterosis, or hybrid vigor, and will lift the strain to new levels of achievement. Others will be culls. Wisconsin has had two striking sports in its history as a people. The one was La Follette, the other is McCarthy. There was practically nothing in the stock in 1881 which would indicate that Dane County's young district attorney would come to represent progressive government, just as there was nothing to indicate, in 1946, that Wisconsin's new junior senator would come to stand for a vicious attack on human rights. Neither man ran true to state form, and the University of Wisconsin can no more take full credit for one movement than it can justly be accused of subsidizing the other.

Heliotropism and Hydrotropism. A plant's leaves reach toward the light and its roots probe for underground moisture. So with a university. If the "sun" of the university is a championship football team, the institution will be twisted and prostituted in a hunt for quarterbacks and a scramble to keep them eligible. If the "sun" is federal research money, undergraduate teaching and adult education will grow yellow and frail in the shadows. If the "sun" is a passion to please every Legionnaire and legislator who comes along demanding something absurd, then the university wilts under the heat of arti-

ficial public relations. But if the "sun" is that balance between responsibility for great academic traditions and responsiveness to public needs, then the university waxes mighty. Likewise, if the streams of broad public support run dry, a university's roots will absorb water from the tainted springs of government subsidy or of gifts with strings attached, and the university will become malformed beyond recognition. But if the university can maintain a balance in its sources of revenue, then normal osmosis will produce a healthy growth.

Heliotropism has never been a problem for the Wisconsin Extension Division. The University has long been pledged to the motto that "the boundaries of the campus are the boundaries of the state." But hydrotropism has presented difficulties. A requirement that the Division be heavily self-supporting has effectively prevented the extension of full educational services to some areas and a number of groups. And the heavy flow of money to the campus from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, earmarked exclusively for research in the natural sciences, has brought about an inordinate investment of University time and talent in the sciences at the expense of the humanities.

Eutrophy. The limnological law of eutrophy has its public relations applications. During most of the year the water in a lake is stratified into three well-defined layers. Twice a year, however--in the spring and fall--this stability is literally up-ended as the lake "mixes" thoroughly. A campus exhibits similar eutrophic characteristics. In the fall, stimulated by the ever-new novelty of return to the campus and sustained by the excesses of the football season, student extra-curricular activity produces turmoil and PR headaches. As the demands of term papers and exams come to be felt, student life becomes marked by a lack of turbulence. But the springtime again brings campus outbursts. This "mixing" takes many forms, all vigorous, most of them harmless. Two decades ago University of Wisconsin students found outlet in May-day parades and left-wing "peace" rallies. More recently it has been riots which have made the headlines. Next year this inevitable eutrophic action will find expression in some other activity. Whether it will be ridiculous or constructive will depend on how well the campus administrators recognize the signs of approaching turn-over and invent ways to siphon off undergraduate enthusiasm into quasi-violent yet fruitful pursuits. There is no such thing as legislating this semi-annual madness out of existence. It is as unalterable as the properties of Lake Mendota, and can only be controlled. The situation is not made any less explosive by the fact that, come the first hint of a break in the weather, professors themselves are rendered as unstable as dandelion

seeds in a high wind, at least those who are inveterate grid fans or trout fishermen.

Symbiosis. A final public relations "law" to be considered here is the law of symbiosis. Just as in nature certain species live intimately associated lives because such a relationship is necessary or advantageous to both, so a state and its university constitute a natural partnership. We have heard Van Hise say that the strength of a university lies in its close relations with the state, and the reverse is equally true. Wisconsin and its university were born the same year, and through the succeeding decades the symbiotic relationship which they have developed has produced a unique exchange between soil and seminar which has lifted to higher planes not only the life of the state and its university but the life of the entire country as well. State traditions and state finances have helped to build a great university. Campus scholarship and campus service have helped to enrich the state. It is the continuing objective of university public relations to cement this mutually advantageous partnership. And symbiotic laws dictate that the partnership is more easily maintained than broken. Faced as he often is with sniping from the left and artillery fire from the right, a university administrator may be led to believe that the public relations of his institution are made of particularly fragile stuff. The reverse is true. A university stands automatically upon a solid stratum of public goodwill which only inexcusable ineptness can shake, the ineptness which comes from failing to appreciate the public relations lessons of history, and to apply them.

TOWARD TOMORROW[25]

Within the university world there is always a continuing review of the university's particular functions, both those that seem to pertain to all universities at all times, and those which arise out of particular circumstances. There are those who take the view that the primary purpose of a university is to discover new knowledge. Those who do so very naturally stress the research function. There are those, on the other hand, who feel that the university must first of all be concerned with the preservation and perpetuation of the cultural inheritance of the past. These tend to stress the teaching function. There are others who say that a primary purpose of all universities will always be that of supplying the more complicated kinds of technical and professional skill which society needs. Still others would have it that only in a balance of functions does the true university emerge.

At any rate, these three university functions--the accumulation of new knowledge, the perpetuation of our cultural inheritance, and professional training--

are all pretty generally accepted by both the university and the public, although there will always be periodic arguments about the relative emphasis which should be given to each. There is, however, another primary function of universities in our kind of society, another absolute need. This is university extension--community services in adult education. This work was not considered a responsiblity of universities until fairly recently, and as a university function it is still more or less misunderstood, particularly inside the traditional campus. But the case for the open university is perfectly clear.

First, if we are to have and maintain a society in which every adult citizen is called upon to have opinions and vote on matters not only of local but of national and international importance, and if we are to continue to live in a world so inter-related as to regulate the standard at which we can live, then agencies must exist which seek to develop as great an understanding of the nature and problems of democratic citizenship--in its broadest sense--as possible. What better site for such an agency than a university already dedicated to teaching?

Second, if we are to continue to live in a complex technological world that is changing and developing rapidly, we must have agencies which seek to keep the adult population informed about the changing world and the implications of those changes both in terms of life and of livelihood. What better site for such an agency than a university already dedicated to research?

Third, if we are to enjoy the real benefits of technological development, we must help multiply the opportunities for self development and individual satisfaction in the leisure time technology has released. What better site for such an agency than a university already dedicated to advanced training?

Fourth, if equality of educational opportunity is to continue to be an American ideal, we must have agencies pledged to carrying the means of education to youths and adults denied normal educational facilities. What better site for such an agency than a university already dedicated to broad educational enterprise?

Finally, if higher education is to interpret effectively its achievements and its needs to the public from which is draws its inspiration and support, we must have agencies which communicate clearly and continuously the resources and the requirements of the university to its patron community. What better site for such an agency than the campus itself?

In short, if we are to make a success of operating a democratic society, there must be available to the whole population the means and facilities for continuing study of citizenship problems--again, in their broadest sense. We cannot, as Jefferson foresaw, be both ignorant and free. This is not something

that can be resolved by the mass media. Their job is not primarily education, although they are important in the educational process. There is in the United States no institution other than the university with so many attributes or so many of the qualified persons to carry out this work. Furthermore, the public has come to expect the universities to do it, and the universities have only the choice of doing it--and doing it increasingly well--or of neglectivng it, to the jeopardy both of their publics and of their public support. The open university concept, in other words, is not only here to stay; it is destined to increase markedly. All that remains is to clear away some obstacles to qualitiative and quantitative growth.

"I predict," said Malcolm Knowles, former administrative coordinator of the Adult Education Association, "that the education of adults will become accepted as a public responsibility, just as the education of children is now. In my opinion, the total budget for adult education of all types will eventually exceed the total expenditures for childhood education."[26]

PUBLIC SERVICE OBSTRUCTION

Morton, after surveying university extension in the United States in 1952, listed six "principal obstructions to widespread use of university resources." They are:

1. Too many adults lack an appreciation of continuing education and a knowledge of how to go about the process.

2. Too many universities have "backed into" extension work and are still "playing by ear."

3. Too many universities have failed to eliminate administrative confusions between the extension division and other campus units.

4. Too few educators understand the working relationships which must exist between members of campus instructional departments and the staff of extension organizations in order for university resources to be useful to adults.

5. Too little progress has been made in developing standards of attainment and procedures adaptable to adults and not "lower" in any sense than existing university standards for the youths in residence.

6. Too few potential consumers of adult education services participate actively in shaping those extension programs.[27]

These observations can be made about these "obstructions." First, without exception they are barriers which it is within the power of the university to remove. Indeed, some show the signs of university carpentering in their erection.

Second, in each problem there is a strong element of communications failure. To the extent that public relations personnel are expert in communicationg, they can be expected to assist directly in removing these obstacles to extension growth. The third observation is that Morton's "obstructions" are the kind of manipulatory headaches which plague administrators but they are not phrased as practical requirements which can be sold to extension's friends. What are these?

Organization. Wherever you find extension wheezing along on one cylinder you will find a university with an extension division which is not at least semi-autonomous. The critical factor in extending the resources of universities is not the subject material involved but the interests and needs of the adults concerned and the arrangements by which these adults are willing and able to utilize these resources.

Only a free-wheeling extension division can develop those adult-education techniques which are as distinct and essential to the successful extension of university resources as are the subject-matter competences of residence departments. Only an extension division unwedded to any one discipline can effect the coordinated outreach of the entire university. Only a sustaining organization can provide continuing relationships with groups to be served. Failure of a university to give its extension division authority and responsibility is almost invariably the principal reason for ineffectiveness in university adult education services. This is the question: Is your extension division empowered to deal with broad problems as they are being faced at the community levels, or is it under the thumb--in content and form--of the subject-matter departments in residence?

Facilities. Comfortable, pleasant, attractive, and efficient surroundings are essential to effective educational services for adults. Yet, by and large, university extension is carrying on its program in hand-me-down quarters. At present no other single development could assist so many people so quickly to make extensive use of university resources as could the provision of adequate conference buildings on university campuses. This is the question: Does your extension division have access to a center for continuation study, or is it "bumming" hotel rooms from the undergraduate dorms and meeting rooms from Old Main Hall?

Staff. Adult education specialists who do not have high qualifications in some academic field are of limited long-term utility in extension. On the other hand, a person highly trained in some subject-matter field but with no competence for educational work with adults, can usually be of little immediate use to an

extension division. So an extension division staff needs balance between experts in content and experts in methodology. Beyond that its personnel policies should provide (a) abundant encouragement and opportunity for its adult education specialists to continue their academic studies, and (b) in-service training programs in extension techniques for subject-matter experts. This is the question: Does your extension staff look like its university colleagues and act like its customers?

Consumer Research. Who uses university extension? What does he or she use? What does he or she want? What does he or she need? The study of users of university extension is of paramount importance because the consumer, and in most cases the consumer alone, decides what kind of adult education services he or she will use and whether or not he or she will continue them. Not nearly enough is yet known about the motivation of either the individual or the group user of university extension services, nor about the extent to which these services actually meet the continuing needs of adults. Here is the question: Is your extension division systematically conducting market surveys, or is it flying blind?

Financing. The high degree of self support now required in extension programs limits too sharply the scope of these programs. To a considerable degree the groups and individuals most in need of university outreach are the very groups and individuals unable to pay the freight to any great extent. The future of extension is in the hand of those governmental units and private foundations willing to subsidize experimentation and expansion. Here is the question: Is your extension division pricing itself out of the market, or does it receive enough grants-in-aid to enable its outreach to be based on something other than the ability to pay?

Interpretation. If extension divisions are to give effective assistance in helping adults to focus on study genuinely significant to them, they must first make clear to many groups the meaning and value of education, point out the availability of specific educational opportunities in their institutions, and identify the individuals and organizations interested in being served and the circumstances under which they can receive services. This is the job for the communications expert, utilizing direct contact with people, relationships with cooperating agencies, and the mass media. Only to the extent that the public information function is built into extension operations can divisions expect to maintain effective two-way communications between user and supplier. Here is the question: Does your extension division have an adequate integral PR office?

Can these public service requirements be boiled down to a few key factors in public relations?

A PUBLIC RELATIONS RECIPE

We have said--and our study has shown--that the most effective public relations is at heart an ecological phenomenon, a peculiar, natural, and inevitable product of its times, the result of a unique concatenation of historical events. And yet is there not at least a narrow margin for intention and design? Are there not certain ingredients basic to any period of successful PR which, if they are brought into juxtaposition again, can reasonably be expected to help produce effective two-way communications? The story of extension in Wisconsin would indicate that there are at least four.

Men. The first is men; that is, leaders. What distinguished the 1907-1917 decade at the University of Wisconsin? The same thing that distinguished the 1945-1955 period. Leaders--Van Hise and Reber yesterday, Fred and Adolfson more recently. It is no accident that the rooting of public relations through public service at Wisconsin came in the presence of two dynamic men, just as it is no accident that the flowering of that concept came in the presence of two men adept at leadership. Effective public relations is only semi-automatic. Somebody with a steady hand and a sure aim has to be around to pull the trigger.

Money. Another ingredient distinguished both the 1910s and the 1940s at Wisconsin. That was money--money invested in public relations through public service. Van Hise and Reber took an abortive extension department and primed the pump with $20,000 before they even worked the handle. By World War I their Division was close to a $500,000-a-year enterprise. Fred and Adolfson likewise funneled money into Extension before they started looking for dividends. By 1950 the Division's annual budget had exceeded $1 million. Money will not buy good public relations on the hoof, but on the other hand you cannot build sound public relations on a shoestring. Without financial wherewithall, leaders get nowhere. Interestingly enough, if you have leaders, they are apt to attract money. And if you have money, you draw leaders. Which come first is practically a chicken-or-the-egg proposition. But both you must acquire in order to develop PR through public service.

Media. Men and money use media. The years of Extension's flourishing in Wisconsin have been the years in which (a) the University has used all existing media and invented others to transmit its resources and requirements to many publics, (b) Extension program planning has included planning the communications necessary to support, maintain, and extend the program, and (c) the Division has used the mass media to disseminate useful and timely information to the public, as

opposed to the use of these communication channels merely for institutional publicity and promotion. Writing in a current PR journal, a Michigan State communications expert says "new depth and strength" can be added to university public relations if we replace 'hard sell' copy with education material: "Promotion gives way to education, and publicity to reliable facts...Education promotes good will, and good will means good public relations."[28] There is no question but what educational services take precedence over publicity and promotion in any effective PR program. But to call such a pattern "new" is scarcely accurate. The "3-D" approach has been a mark of UW Extension since its inception. Educational material went out from Madison via the press, magazines, and publications as early at 1908. Later came the utilization of radio, and more recently of television. Only when the University forgot to use such media to the hilt did its PR lack "depth and strength." Men and money are voiceless without media.

Morality. Men, money, and media can make for quantity in communications, but to make for quality they must be anchored in morality. At its peaks, UW Extension has shown a remarkable allegiance to unselfish service and to human freedom. In its defiles, Extension has pandered to self-gratification and to censorship. And the University's public relations have always reflected these ups and downs in Division morality. The faithful performance of duty, truthfulness, sincerity, and honest dealings are the sinews of institutional character under any and all circumstances. These are the virtues which give worth and dignity to university life and which keep unimpaired that most priceless of all campus possessions--self-respect. Some time ago a Time profile of Hoagy Carmichael ended with a stray bit of wisdom offered the famous composer by a piano player: "Never play anything that ain't right," he said, "You may not make any money but you'll never get hostile with yourself." That puts a finger on a central problem in university PR. There are always plenty of opportunities and plenty of temptations to explain the conscience away and to blur the distinction between right and wrong on the grounds of relativity or expediency. Yet something always goes out of campus life when a university barters its self-respect. The voice of the institution loses its note of clear conviction. A permanent set of permanent values is the sine qua non of sound PR.

Men, money, media, and morality--these four are the basic ingredients of public relations through public service, and the greatest of these is morality.

EPILOGUE

Flowering from seeds planted and roots let down during the preceding years, the University of Wisconsin-Madison's outreach activities expanded during the 1957-1975 era to bear new fruits of extension, public service, and youth/adult education programs and consultations throughout the state, the nation, and the world. They were all part of a commitment that had come to be called the Wisconsin Idea, characterized by Charles R. Van Hise in 1904 as a pledge to make "the beneficient influences of the University available to every home in the state,"[1] more recently by a 1949 Faculty Functions and Policies Report as the concept of "a community of scholars making itself as useful as possible."[2]

In the whole history of adult education, James Creese has written, no development has had more importance than this implementation of university outreach on the part of the University.[3] Indeed, the University has, in the words of the late Frank P. Graham, "taught the university world that the university of the people has the responsibility of taking the university--the professors, the books, the skills, the findings of research, the interpretations, the insights, the forums, and the publications to the people--as far as feasible, of making all resources of the university available to the people beyond the college walls."[4] In recognition of this distinctive tradition, the "select missions" assigned the University of Wisconsin-Madison by the University System Board of Regents in January 1974 included "providing public service by application of the results of scholarly and scientific inquiry for the benefit of society, and meeting the continuing educational needs of the public through coordinated statewide outreach programs, in accordance with its designated Land-Grant status," and "encouraging cooperative use of its resources by state and national agencies and continuing extensive participation in statewide, nationwide, and international programs."[5]

In its broadest sense, the Wisconsin Idea had come to be an institutional state of mind which viewed the University not as a place but as an instrument. In the spirit of the Idea, campus leaders sought to identify public problems, to stimulate public awareness and concern, to interpret public educational needs to the University, to focus University skills and resources upon them, and thence to translate University insights into a wide range of formal and informal educational service activities throughout Wisconsin and beyond.[6]

While their forms had become many, varied, and often combined, UW-Madison outreach programs in recent years could be usefully categorized as follows: (1) the formal geographic dispersion of regular credit courses and curricula through Extension centers and off-campus classes; (2) relatively formal noncredit institutes, conferences, clinics, and workshops, such as the Graduate School of Banking and the Summer Youth Music Clinics; (3) educational media, such as books, bulletins, films, and radio-TV; (4) a wide range of relatively informal public service programs, such as the research-dissemination activities of the Sea Grant Program, and the educational-telephone-network (ETN) refresher instruction conducted by the Medical School for Wisconsin doctors; and (5) consultations with communities, government agencies, schools, businesses, and nations by expert faculty, such as the work of the University-Industry Research Program, the Office of Undergraduate Orientation, and the Land Tenure Center.

Over the years UW-Madison has developed five principal instrumentalities to help carry on its Wisconsin Idea missions: (1) a General Extension Division, incorporating two-year Extension centers; (2) an Agricultural Extension Service, in cooperation with Wisconsin counties and the U.S. Department of Agriculture; (3) WHA Radio-TV and the University Press; (4) various special offices, individuals, and programs associated with appropriate departments, such as the Geological and Natural History Survey and the State Laboratory of Hygiene; and (5) several overseas-programs offices. Since 1970 many of these outreach instrumentalities and arrangements once indigenous to UW-Madison had been expropriated or modified to a great or lesser degree by the University Central Administration, although Extension's major resource base continued at Madison. Implemented imperceptively, an emerging system outreach provost concept could make the drift even more definite, divorcing outreach from its historic close association with UW-Madison resources and UW-Madison from appropriate constituencies.

In 1965, during the presidency of Fred Harvey Harrington, a successor to E.B. Fred, the University's outreach underwent a massive reorganization with an aim better to coordinate programs, personnel, and urban-oriented problem-solving.

The Extension centers became a separate entity under Chancellor L.H. Adolfson. In a remarkable demonstration of community-University teamwork, nine new two-year center buildings had gone up since 1960 in Menasha, Green Bay, Kenosha, Manitowoc, Wausau, Marinette, Marshfield, Racine, and Sheboygan. (The Green Bay Center was about to become a four-year University of Wisconsin-Green Bay and the Racine and Kenosha Center a four-year UW-Parkside.)

A new amalgamanted UW-Extension emerged under another chancellor, Donald McNeil, incorporating General Extension, Agricultural Extension, WHA Radio-TV,

and the Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey.

The Center System and Extension developed discrete faculties, giving the two instrumentalities more autonomy and flexibility, but somewhat less empathy for the strengths and needs of the mother campus. Extension's academic resources became channeled through three principal divisions: Professional and Human Development, Economic and Environmental Development, and Educational Communications. For meeting the educational needs of both urban and rural citizens, the new combined UW-Extension was probably at the time without a peer in the country.

In a recent representative year, for example, the more than eight hundred Extension faculty members served an estimated one of every four state residents. Over 72,000 people attended institutes and workshops associated with continuing education programs, for which fees were charged. Extension served an additional 15,642 graduates and undergraduates in off-campus credit and independent study courses. WHA's School of the Air reached 70 percent of the state's elementary students through the state FM radio network. County-based faculty members scheduled over a half-million consultations to serve youth, women, businessmen, farmers, and community leaders. Over 20,000 group meetings and field tours were scheduled to serve a clientele interested in such diverse subjects as entomology, medicine, plant pathology, black history, drug abuse, poultry science, school curriculum, dairy marketing, pollution control, consumer protection, and community leadership.[7]

What this massive modern implementation of the Wisconsin Idea meant can probably best be portrayed in the words of a 1972 UW-Extension document describing typical citizens involved in typical ways with their University:[8]

> --A doctor and nurse from Beloit returned to the classroom last winter to review ways they could work more effectively as a team for pediatric care. They were among the more than 14,000 health professionals in Wisconsin who are now involved in continuing education programs.
>
> --A Milwaukee businessman was recently given a certificate indicating he had trained as a volunteer in counseling probationers. He is one of 700 in Milwaukee, Madison, Racine, Appleton and Beloit who have become involved in a new probation volunteer counseling program.
>
> --An Oneida County homemaker got the final cure for a mild case of cabin fever when she attended the early June College Week for Women on the Madison campus. She and 1,479 other Wisconsin homemakers took home a "bushel" of ideas and inspirations destined to reshape their personal lives, families and communities.

--A former mayor of Milwaukee recently earned his eightieth credit hour through Independent Study. He is one of nearly 10,000 students who each year earn University of Wisconsin credit through correspondence study.

--An Ashland third grader listens to an instructional radio program each Wednesday morning. She is one of 312,000 Wisconsin elementary students who each week attend WHA Radio's School of the Air as a supplement to regular classroom instruction.

--A farmer in Brown County can use a push-button phone to punch in some information relative to questions about his farm loan. Within seconds a computer returns an electronic answer which is programmed to sound like a human voice. His job--running a family farm--is one of 6,000,000 that depends on the prosperity of Wisconsin agriculture and related agri-business.

--Each Wednesday a Beaver Dam lawyer takes a brown bag lunch and joins his fellow attorneys in a local hospital conference room to participate in a state-wide seminar sent out over the Educational Telephone Network. He's one of 15,000 Wisconsin adults who have now "returned to school" by way of ETN, pegged the "world's biggest party line."

--An Eau Claire County 4-H member led a crew of local teenagers in a work project to spruce up a town hall. She is among the over 60,000 Wisconsin 4-H'ers who, in addition to their regular educational projects, are providing strong community leadership to meet head-on such serious problems as pollution and drug use.

--Community leaders in Marion gathered last fall to celebrate the rejuvenation of their Marion Millpond area. Marion is one of five Wisconsin communities that have "cured or taken off the critical list" their "sick" lakes during the last two years, with the help of a crack Inland Lakes Renewal Team.

--Washington County farmers are concerned about developing more effective animal waste management and manure recycling programs. The county agricultural Extension agent sets up a specialized team of an Extension animal waste management engineer, the county soil conservationist and the agricultural stabilization director to make recommendations to help farmers qualify for government environmental assistance.

Public service activities were not alone the province of Extension; public service continued to be an accepted role of residence faculty members. The University Committee in 1974 offered the regents examples of such "substantial activities" as the following:

Economists Commons, Witte, and Groves contributed much to Wisconsin's innovative labor and tax laws and programs from before 1920 until their deaths. In the last decade or more Lampman and others in the department have again and again served on state and national commissions. Young (Policital Science) served in the administration of Governor Rennebohm; Knight (Business), in the administration of Governor Vernon Thomson; and Adamany (Political Science) and Jordahl (Urban and Regional Planning) in Governor Patrick Lucey's administration.

Matthews was a leading expert in ballistic identification and did much of the work that led to the establishment of the State Crime Laboratory. Stovall, director of the State Laboratory of Hygiene located on the Madison campus, had a major role in improving the health of all Wisconsin citizens through his efforts at the Laboratory and his work with the Medical School here. Daniels devoted many years in the later part of his life to the study of the utilization of solar energy in inexpensive ways suitable for developing countries.

Research and public service have so overlapped in Agriculture that it is not practical even to begin an enumeration.

Three faculty members, White, Ingraham, and Fellman, have given great service to faculties throughout the nation by serving as president of the national AAUP.

The data are evidence of a vibrant philosophy at work: to deliver campus educational skills and resources to individuals, groups, organizations, and agencies for us in meeting personal aspirations and in solving societal problems; to bring back to the campus those essential public insights and impulses that enliven teaching and stimulate research; to build those public appreciations that keep open the doors to broad educational opportunities and free inquiry at the highest order of an institution of learning.

Resident instruction, research, outreach services--these were not adversaries but friends, inextricably linked as the tripartite mission of, particularly, a land-grant institution. Each supported the other. Two examples: problems of lakes and streams, Wisconsin's landmark Water Resources Management Act of 1965 was drafted by professors and graduate students in seminars; extension professors in turn implemented the act by schooling county boards in its zoning requirements. Again, brought to the campus by a farmer and his extension agent, a sick cow became the focus of biochemical research that led to the discovery of the invaluable anticoagulants Dicumarol and Warfarin. In turn, revenues from the two drugs, generated through the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation patents, came back to the University to support more research programs. And it

all started with a cow that ate too much sweet clover, and an extension agent linking soil and seminar. Less dramatic yet no less significant examples of the interplay of teaching, research, and extension came to be legion, as UW-Madison expanded the Wisconsin Idea.

Thus had the campus of the outreach university come to be coextensive with the borders of the broad community whose people provide its support or inspiration. As P.O. Claxton said long ago, "Wherever men and women labor in the heat, or toil in the shadows, in field or forest, or mill or shop or mine, in legislative halls or executive offices, in society or in the home, at any task requiring an exact knowledge of facts, principles, or laws, there the modern university sees both its duty and its opportunity," In turn, said Adolfson more recently, as the university "moves out to the people and come to grips with the people's problems, it is certain the people, in turn, will bring to the university the support it needs for survival in these difficult times."

This is the outreach University at work.

With the coming of the merger of the University of Wisconsin and the former state teachers colleges, officially consummated in 1974, the status of UW-Extension came in for subtle yet significant change. It was no longer exclusively the strong right arm of UW-Madison; it was a University System instrumentality, charged with energizing and coordinating the outreach activities of not one but twenty-seven campuses. Meanwhile the campuses themselves were asked to cease and desist from arranging independent outreach programs other than those involving credit instruction or self-supporting fees.[12]

From one perspective, all this was remarkable evidence of the leadership role of the Madison campus at work, expanding the Wisconsin Idea philosophy first to UW-Milwaukee, then to Green Bay and Parkside, and then to other campuses. From another perspective, it was as if UW-Madison's distinguished Graduate School had suddenly ceased to be the intimate instrumentality of the Madison faculty. By 1974 Madison faculty committees were discussing ways to try to restore UW-Madison/UW-Extension relationships in the interest of effective public service of high quality.

The UW-Madison University Committee in 1974 expressed concern "that in an effort to coordinate statewide functions, some of the traditional outreach programs will be eliminated or removed from the control of the Madison campus," and urged that "the teaching, research, and outreach functions of such programs be again united.[13] A special UW-Madison Outreach Functions Committee noted the same year that "it is the ever-evolving knowledge base of the Campus that provides

substance for Extension," and cautioned that "it is an uneconomical use of the state's limited funds to build an Extension faculty unrelated to and duplicative of Campus resources."[14]

Whether the system outreach pattern will presage a Wisconsin Idea of new dimensions or its attrition remains for future historians to interpret. Hopefully they will record that UW-Madison developed those academic energies and administrative arrangements that assured the continued interplay of a progressive state with its premier campus.

The words of the new University outreach provost, Wilson B. Thiede, were encouraging: "As soon as a strong, free, and independent extension system has been planned, the first admonition must be to relate it closely to the residence teaching and research sources, in order to build the university and serve the public in the great American Land Grant tradition."[15]

In keeping with that challenge, UW-Madison has responded in a number of significant ways to attune its traditional outreach posture to new institutional needs and public wants:

The Faculty Outreach Committee called for "the evolution of new programs and patterns that will merit and win public interest and support" through "more open-learning opportunities of University quality for Wisconsin citizens. Specifically the Committee recommended that UW-Madison departments (a) schedule more of their regular on-campus credit courses in the late afternoon, in the evening, and on weekends, (b) develop and offer appropriate credit instruction off-campus, (c) reaffirm their commitment to broad non-credit educational outreach, and (d) revise, adapt, or develop selected programs in keeping with open-education patterns.

Responsibility for all credit instruction, regardless of time or place, was in fact assigned to the campus by the Regents in 1973, and UW-Madison moved rapidly to expand its evening operations. An Assistant Vice Chancellor was designated Director of Continuing Education Programs in 1974. He in turn assembled a core staff and created a Council of Deans for Continuing Education. As a non-credit base he had a new Continuing Education Center facility on University Bay. The Faculty Senate expressed its official "concern for the continuing education of adults" in 1975.

To facilitate returning adults, UW-Madison had extended year-round in 1973 the traditional summer term classification of Special--the occasional student not working toward a degree but taking credit courses for professional advancement or

personal enrichment. Over-62 adults were encouraged to sit in on classes free of charge, and under-62 adults could audit for half-fare. By 1976 the Office of Special/Guest Students was registering upwards of 2,500 students a term.

More subtle yet just as significant was the 1975 "treaty" entered into between UW-Madison's College of Agriculture and Life Sciences and UW-Extension, giving each agency equal say over who gets appointed, retained, and promoted as an ag extension specialist--assuring a close relationship among University teaching, research, and outreach in the interests of effective public service of high quality.

Even more subtle yet also just as significant was one of the first appointments to the staff of the new Director of Continuing Education Programs--a public information person. And one of her first policy statements says it all:

"The people of Wisconsin have assembled at Madison a distinguished reservoir of educational skills, resources, and facilities--a reservoir not alone for those who can come to the campus at conventional times in traditional configurations, but for the part-time learner wherever he or she may be....Campus skills, resources, and facilities grow only as they are shared."[16]

That is the outreach university, and that is enlightened public relations for higher education.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-EXTENSION
A Report to the Regents
October 15, 1976

The University of Wisconsin Extension (UWEX) institution is a very complex one, often not clearly understood.

There is an ancient fable about a group of blind men who came upon an elephant. Surrounding the beast, each used his sense of touch to identify it.

Feeling its leg, one said, "The elephant is like the trunk of a tree."

Another, grasping its tail, said, "No, the elephant is like a rope."

"It's like a sword," said a third who had touched a tusk.

"Like a huge snake" said one who held the writhing trunk.

Each was describing with reasonable accuracy what he had experienced, but none perceived the whole animal.

The same limited perceptions plague University of Wisconsin-Extension. People tend to identify UWEX only in terms of their specific contact:

"Extension is a correspondence school."

"It's county agricultural agents."

"Off-campus classes."

"Four-H and homemaker clubs."

"It has engineering and management institutes."

"It's educational broadcasting."

Those singular statements are accurate as far as they go:

A correspondence school? Certainly! UWEX does administer one of the nation's outstanding independent study programs. Last year, 8,817 Wisconsin residents and others all over the world enrolled in one or more of the 430 correspondence courses currently offered. Originally all its roots were in departments of the Madison campus, but this correspondence program now also includes specialized courses by departments at La Crosse, Milwaukee, and Whitewater campuses, and others are being comtemplated.

This independent study program is one of the active centers in the Wisconsin Idea degree completion program. Staff members are also working with the State Vocational-Technical system to develop and offer their vocational skill courses, avoiding establishment of a duplicate administrative mechanism in that system.

County agricultural agents? At least one in every county of the State--working there side-by-side with home economists, youth development agents, community development agents, continuing education agents and other specialized agents

who are faculty members jointly employed by UWEX and the counties in which they work. The county Extension office is a gateway to resources throughout the UW System. Equally important, because agents live and work among the people of the State, they are able to assess local problems and ready to test the educational responses which the System might make.

Off-campus classes? By the thousands! UWEX serves in a relatively limited way as a surrogate of the campuses in administering certain of their degree credit classes and is responsible for the coordination of all off-campus classes throughout the System. UWEX collaborates with universities and centers in identifying individual faculty or unique resource teams to meet specific learning situations. "Continuing education" classes focus upon the needs of the clientele without reference to a degree curriculum and so are often referred to as "non-credit." Continuing education classes (more recently referred to as non-credit outreach) generally are at least as rigorous as credit classes either undergraduate or graduate.

4-H and homemaker clubs? Yes, UWEX teaches leaders of these groups, who in turn teach others and lead the clubs. Over 21,000 adult leaders and almost 10,000 teen leaders volunteer their time and talents to guide 4-H'ers in areas from art to agriculture. Some 82,000 young people in 4-H clubs are the beneficiaries of this two-step educational program. Homemaker clubs, which many years ago concentrated on improving the cooking and sewing skills of young married women, now stress learning for the enrichment of life and for community improvement.

Engineering and management institutes? To be sure! In these and other subject fields UWEX provides short-term learning experiences to update professionals and to disseminate research information. Campus faculty members, who create new knowledge and organize existing data into easily understood units, are frequently matched on the instructional staff of institutes, conferences and workshops with outstanding practitioners who test the ideas in the market place, in industry or in government.

Educational broadcasting? UWEX does this too. Madison station WHA is the oldest radio station in the nation, having broadcast its quality programs continuously since its beginning in World War I. WHA-TV's broadcast activity was an outgrowth of one of the earliest experimental television production facilities in a major university. Programs produced in these studios have been carried across the country by stations affiliated with the national public radio and television networks. Instructional programs for in-school listening and viewing by elementary and high school students are produced along with collegiate courses, transmitted on closed circuit systems or utilizing tape cassettes.

People know UWEX for other educational services too.

The Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction is the fifth largest in the nation in the number of 16-mm film prints available through its library. The 96,068 film bookings for universities, schools, service clubs, government agencies, and individual users, put it in third place among university film centers in the utilization of its material.

UWEX Instructional Communication Systems bring information to people where they are. Nearly 30,000 Wisconsin people participated in teaching programs offered over the educational telephone network, an amplified telephone party line connecting 185 classrooms in Wisconsin county Extension offices, UW campuses and centers,

libraries and hospitals. An additional smaller network provides two-way audio communication and instant visual communication to 25 classrooms.

Telephone access facilities, available at all hours of the day and night, permit people to phone from home or office to get recorded information of their choosing from some 300 subjects included in the tape cassette library.

Extension photographic media specialists last year produced more than two dozen motion pictures and slide/tape productions seen by thousands. The photographic laboratory assisted campus and UWEX faculty to visualize complex ideas. It processed nearly a half million frames of still photography and well over a million feet of motion picture film.

UWEX Mission

These examples, admittedly very incomplete, show activity but do not illustrate the role of UWEX among the institutions of the system and related to the general public and many organizations, agencies and governmental units.

UWEX, organized as one of 15 institutions in the University of Wisconsin System, provides economies of scale, a single, unduplicated administrative structure and a mechanism for uniting resources of all of the campuses. While it has identity as a separate institution, UWEX is a creature of the System. Its Regent-approved core mission says that UWEX

> "is to provide, jointly with campuses and centers, a program of outreach designed to bring University of Wisconsin System resources to bear upon the needs and problems confronting the people and institutions of the State and to coordinate the statewide program."

And that is precisely what UWEX and its personnel are trying to accomplish.

That mission divides into two parts. One is the identification of "needs and problems." The other is to "provide" and "coordinate" the resources of the University of Wisconsin System.

Needs and problems of people and institutions of the State must necessarily be described from the constituents' perspective. Some problems are easily seen by the generalist: Poverty. Environmental degradation. Social conflict. Physical disabilities. Others may be equally acute but less obvious. Frustration and stress. Inadequate transportation. Poor nutrition.

Outreach should not begin with the marketing of an educational package. Rather it involves first the careful diagnosis of public need and then the prescription of new educational remedies. Just as the family doctor may require consultation with a specialist for the diagnosis of a medical problem, the Extension agent or other UWEX or other System faculty member working with people must be able to call upon specialized faculty from campuses to aid in determining the precise nature of educational problems. The same team approach of agent and specialist is maintained for compounding the educational prescriptions to deal with the problems.

Partnerships with a great variety of groups and agencies make the job of assessing needs easier and more reliable.

County Extension Committees

Chapter 36 of the Wisconsin Statutes empowers any county to join in a partnership with the University of Wisconsin System. The county must provide an office and create a department of county government, staffed by personnel who are at one and the same time professional employees of the county and faculty or academic staff members of UWEX. The statute provides for joint programs in economic, environmental and human resource development and in professional and liberal education--the whole spectrum of University concern. A committee of elected county board members, attentive to the needs of constituents, shares the guidance and supervision of programs in their counties with University administrators. A State organization of county board extension committee members counsels UWEX on the priority allocation of System resources to meet statewide needs.

Voluntary Associations

A host of local, regional and statewide associations also verify educational needs as they see them. Some 500 statewide associations range from architects to watchmakers, from the Temperence Union to the Tavern League, from teachers to teamsters, from snowmobillers to surgeons, from livestock dealers to lumbermen. UWEX maintains continuous relationships with hundreds of professional, topical and occupational groups so that programs may be jointly planned to meet needs as these publics perceive them.

State Government

Every legislative session produces laws which fix administrative and regulatory responsibilities in State agencies, but which also require an educational component. One result of such legislation, an Inland Lake Rehabilitation program in which UWEX and the State Department of Natural Resources work together, was recently praised in a Legislative Audit Bureau report. Close working relationships with the departments of Agriculture, Local Affairs and Development, Business Development, Health and Social Services and others provide for University-based educational programs to help people and institutions to avoid enforcement difficulties.

Vocational-Technical System

Certain public educational needs are by statute to be met by the Vocational, Technical and Adult Education districts and not by the universities. Skill training and courses leading to no more than the associate degree fall within the province of the VTAE system. Preparation for the professions is normally a university responsibility. Between these extremes is a large operational area in which VTAE and the University System are both legitimately involved. To identify and resolve policy issues, the two systems maintain a Joint Advisory Committee on Continuing Education. At other operating levels, needless duplication and overlap are avoided and mutually-supportive efforts are encouraged through regular contacts between administrators and faculty of UWEX and those of the VTAE state board office and local districts. Currently more joint committees are at work clarifying working arrangements between the two systems.

Occasionally a legislator or constituent will mistake similar program titles for duplication, or an entrepreneurial department of one of the systems may unintentionally step into the territory of the other, but these incidents are minimized through good, consistent working relationships and good intentions.

Internal Coordination

Most important is the partnership which the UWEX faculty cadre has with colleagues of similar interests in the other institutions of the System. Thirteen identical schools of education might possibly divide the state into thirteen discreet territories. One school of medicine or pharmacy or architecture of law in the State might need no coordination of activity. But what of three colleges of agriculture? Or three different schools of home economics? Or four nursing schools? Or a half dozen with business management majors?

That's where the second part of UWEX's mission comes into play--to "provide, jointly with campuses and centers," and to "coordinate" this System outreach.

Coordination is not viewed as the directing of traffic by a police officer, or in this context permitting one campus to go ahead with an outreach program while restraining another. That would only permit institutions to do what was most convenient and would not reflect constituents' priorities. True coordination requires the regular and active involvement of campuses in the diagnosis and program design processes as well as in the staffing of outreach programs. A single preparation by an Eau Claire professor may result in his teaching in Milwaukee and Green Bay too, because that is more efficient and economical than having three faculty members develop similar materials independently.

Further, local educational needs become regional needs and regional needs become statewide needs; there is no clear distinction. The continuing education needs of accountants in Racine and Spooner are probably very similar. The same air masses, rivers and transportaiton systems affect the environment over large areas of the State, both urban and rural, so environmental policy education can seldom be local. New research data which can advance Wisconsin industry must be quickly disseminated throughout the entire state. It is very helpful when each institution can conceptualize its opportunities beyond its immediate territory as well as locally.

And because the System has limits upon its capacity for outreach, some mechanism is required to deliver resources to the points of greatest need.

Joint Appointments

As a totally separate institution--one among fifteen--UWEX could not possibly muster and coordinate systemwide resources. It cannot function as an outside educational broker. Just as the diagnosis of need requires campus specialists in addition to agents and community-based faculty, a continuing campus and centers' commitment to Extension or outreach requires that the appropriate faculties be involved.

In May, 1973 a Regent policy statement on the Organization of University Extension and Outreach Activity provided for creation of "statewide planning committees involving participation from appropriate units, agencies and field staff, for an identified list of on-going program areas to assess program needs and propose annual plans of work."

The ad hoc committees set up under this mandate became continuing "program areas" which identify needs, develop program plans and marshall resources. Former chapter 37 campuses, which in 1973 were obliged to assign time of campus-teaching faculty for this Extension committee function, have progressed to a more rational budgeting of this effort by formal joint appointments of faculty with UWEX and the time purchase of others who serve as a part of their regular faculty loads.

The Madison campus, because of its heavy research component and the land-grant status affecting USDA-financed cooperative extension programs, continues to have the great majority (75.9%) of the 320 current joint campus-Extension appointments. The Milwaukee campus now has 7.2 percent of the total. The other campuses share 16.9 percent. Despite a reduction of $1.5-million of general purpose revenue for UWEX in the last biennium and the "productivity" reductions affecting all institutions in the System, UWEX has continued to reallocate dollars for support of campus-based, problem-focused faculty.

Program Areas

Program areas thus are in fact composed of clusters of faculty--some in campus departments, some totally in UWEX and some community-based agents--who share and work together in a common interest and purpose. Presently there are thirteen such program areas. Others, such as transportation, will be added when a sufficient body of continuing resources can be assembled. Program areas provide a continuity of effort. They are able to respond to immediate needs and to prepare for the long term as well. Because they embrace faculty from institutions throughout the System, appropriate resources are identified in the collegial sense, with an emphasis on quality as related to the specific need. This mechanism for need identification and program planning goes far beyond the simple administrative linkages found in other states.

Some examples of how program areas function and what they accomplished last year follow:

Agriculture and Agribusiness

--Agricultural agents in every county not only carry out information produced through research, but they feed into the University System information about problems which ought to be researched and faculty at Madison, Platteville, and River Falls go into action. Agents and campus agricultural specialists are closely attuned to the State and federal departments of agriculture and a host of farm-related organizations as they plan and provide educational programs.

--A statewide "drought detail" was organized to monitor the 1976 summer drought and advise farmers. Drought packets of information were prepared and distributed. The educational telephone network was used to inform veterinarians, vocational agriculture and vocational-technical instructors, feed dealers, dairy plant fieldmen, farm credit officers and others about emergency measures. A special telephone service, financed by Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission funds, permitted farmers who went to their county Extension offices to find out where others had feed to sell and at what price. Information is still being provided to farmers on the handling of dry-weather feed crops and precautionary measures which must be taken in feeding cattle.

--Federal environmental rules require that by October 1977, all applicators of restricted use pesticides must be certified as to their competency. The Cooperative Extension Service was given national responsibility for pesticide applicators' training. In Wisconsin an estimated 80,000 private applicators and 5,000 commercial applicators must be trained in safe and effective practices. A training program is being developed and will be field tested this fall.

--More and more people living "in the city" are looking to their county Extension offices as places to get information about home horticulture. Trees and plants provide noise and visual barriers in urban concentrations and they are cooling

and psychologically refreshing as well. Eight metropolitan counties have jointly employed horticultural agents who use mass media and publications extensively to reach large numbers of urban residents. More than 50,000 home horticultural publications were distributed last year. Campus-based horticulturists also develop materials for dissemination by garden centers, arborists, municipal horticulturists, and libraries.

Business and Industry

--Business and industry programs are designed primarily for professional managers and supervisory personnel to improve their competencies. Owner-operators of small business get assistance in marketing decisions, financial management, expansion feasibility, etc. Assisting the business community contributes to the economic health of Wisconsin communities through improvement of existing enterprises and increases in the employment base.

--The Recreation Resources Center arranged 44 workshops with 880 participants. Eighty-three private enterprises and 27 public recreation enterprises got business counseling assistance. The Center staff relates in various ways to nearly 50 recreation organizations in the State, and it has regularly provided resource assistance in organizing the Governor's Conference on Tourism and Recreation.

--The small staff of the Northern Wisconsin Development Center at Wausau provides business counseling to firms in the northern part of the State through funds from the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission. The NWDC staff makes site visits and advises owners and managers, but it also calls upon specialized business school faculty from campuses to counsel on particular problems.

--Minority businesses often face special problems. Pilot programs continue in Milwaukee to secure reliable market data, counsel owner-managers and instruct staff members. Two projects of particular significance are aiding minority business in the central city and southside of Milwaukee.

Communications

--The burgeoning field of electronic communication means thousands more people who need to learn how to utilize cable television, video-tape devices, data transmission systems, telephonic services, and satellites. Last year UWEX conducted 11 cable-video seminars, four telephone seminars, five video production workshops plus many non-credit classes and consultations.

--Film media are becoming increasingly important in public and corporate communications. The communications program area arranged instruction in cinematography, still photography, news techniques, special color processes, lighting design, etc.

--Libraries are more generally becoming instructional media centers. Librarians who formerly catalogued only books are now handling collections of films, records, slides, television materials, art works and other unusual items. Updating of library staff must go on constantly. Graduate level courses were arranged for 93 persons last year, double the number of the previous year, and the Educational Telephone Network permitted large numbers of library staff members to get in-service training.

--Speech and Journalism faculty members are helping schools through the Wisconsin High School Forensic Association for debate, drama and individual speech activities, and through workshops for journalism teachers and students involved in high school

publications. The 1401 adult students enrolled in speech communication offerings represented a 14 percent increase over the previous year.

Education

--As Universities have attempted to schedule more off-campus credit classes as part of load, the total number of classes offered dropped from 875 in 1974-75 to 680 in the past year. Continuing education (non-credit) programs increased from 145 to 183 in the same period.

--In the current year every degree-granting university in the System has at least one position budgeted part-time by UWEX for the purposes of developing off-campus programs with campus departments, coordinating off-campus programs with counterparts throughout the System, and serving on the UWEX Education administrative council for statewide program development and administration.

--Specialized faculty on various campuses are taking statewide program leadership in priority problem areas. Fourteen faculty members located on System campuses are budgeted to guide statewide planning for problem areas ranging from environmental education to reading.

--Relationships with key client groups were expanded. Six client groups (administrators, teachers, and other school-related professionals) have been a part of the program planning process this year. One relationship resulted in establishment of the "School Board Academy."

Engineering

--Current estimates are that five to seven years after an engineer graduates, half of what he has learned is obsolete. Continuous updating for professional engineers is a high priority for this program area. In 1975-76 more than 14,000 enrolled in engineering evening classes, institutes, independent study courses, and media programs. Campus experts interpreted results of the newest research in such areas as energy use and conservation, environmental impacts, urban services, construction, materials handling, etc.

--The Professional Development Degree provides opportunities for engineers to structure a sequence of continuing education experiences to bring themselves up to the level of technological competence they had when they graduated. In 1975-76 there were 147 candidates active in the program, taking courses and working on projects under faculty supervision.

--Electronic media programming was stepped up to bring information to engineers and others who need it. Faculty designed, produced, scheduled and evaluated instruction through the educational telephone network, the SEEN (electronic blackboard) network, the State's educational television network, cable television systems, and video tape playback systems. Thirty-nine different Extension programs were provided last year, with 547 participants enrolled.

--One participant reported a $100,000 saving to his company through what he learned at an Extension engineering institute. An insurance firm changed its underwriting practices when one of its engineers learned about fire protection research findings. A waste-recycling company, applying what it learned in an engineering institute, is processing and returning 8000 gallons of petrochemicals to the Janesville General Motors plant with cost savings to the company and protection to the city's groundwater.

Family Living Education

--The American family has never been subjected to more stress than at present. Two working parents, single parent homes, the juvenile drug culture, permissive behavior, a generation gap all produce pressures which parents and children find difficult to cope with. "Trial marriages" have not changed the increasing divorce rate. Faculty in the Family Living Education area have, through many groups and organizations, taught ways to make the family function more smoothly.

--Consumer management is an area of increasing concern. Often buyers are unaware of ingredients or functions, warranties or comparative prices. Especially in inflationary times, consumers are seeking to learn more about choosing products, understanding guarantees and getting maximum benefit from the dollar. Faculty in the family management field generated 137,528 student contact hours last year in group instruction.

--Despite a general abundance of food in this country, a high proportion of our citizens suffer from faculty nutrition. Some of these are new Wisconsin residents who do not find in the stores the same products with which they were familiar in another part of the nation. Some are teen agers who fill their stomaches with empty calories and neglect basic foods. Some are people who have never learned how a diet should be balanced. About forty percent of the Family Living staff time was devoted last year to an expanded foods and nutrition program to remedy these conditions.

--Large numbers of people who move into public housing developments find facilities which they have never used before. The workings of toilet tanks or electrical circuit breakers are unknown. They lack the skills to make even simple repairs. Home economists have developed minimum tool kits and devised simple home maintenance courses to help people maintain a quality living environment.

Government and Community Development

--Haphazard growth, urban sprawl, poor use of land resources all result when communities fail to plan for the future. The government and community development program area helps municipalities and citizen groups to collect socio-cultural, physical, and economic data upon which to base decisions about their collective futures. Controversies over the land use rights of owners versus the interests of the larger community must be resolved. Conflicting values must be reconciled. Faculty in this program area are helping communities to make better corporate decisions by providing an adequate data base, developing local leadership and projecting the consequences of various options which a community may adopt.

--Training of government and citizen leaders becomes increasingly important as greater numbers of inexperienced people are elected and appointed to public office. Last year the Institute of Governmental Affairs conducted 59 programs for nearly 4000 town, municipal, county, and state officials, law enforcement officers and selected citizens. The Center for Community Leadership Development pioneered a program to help county sheriff departments in better jail management, community relationships and the rehabilitation of offenders.

--An inter-institution project in northwestern Wisconsin, supported by funds from Title I of the Higher Education Act, helps small communities to improve the business climate by seeing themselves as others see them. A photographer takes slides of good and bad features affecting retail trade which are shown at a

meeting of local merchants along with comparison pictures from similar communities. Students from the UWM School of Architecture are employed to develop appropriate themes for downtown refurbishing and remodeling.

--Staff in this program area are analyzing the relationship between influential women and community decision making, studying alternative forms of citizen organization in urban minority neighborhoods, examining urban influences on rural development and exploring communication linkages within communities.

Health Sciences

--Quality health care through the continuing education of professionals is a major objective of the health sciences program area faculty. Last year's non-credit instructional programs served 2,786 physicians, 6,036 nurses, and most of the State's pharmacists. Programs were also provided for allied health professions, nursing home operators and hospital administrators.

--Because of the heavy time demands upon health professionals, innovative ways are being found to take instruction to them at their convenience. The educational telephone network carries programs to hospitals and clinics in the early morning hours and at noon when physicians and surgeons are usually available. Audio tape cassettes and printed course materials in loose leaf binders comprise self-study materials for pharmacists. A physician dial access library permits a doctor to call in and review recorded information for diagnosis and treatment of unusual cases.

--A substantial new continuing education program in mental health is under way. The State Division of Mental Hygiene, the Wisconsin Association of Community Human Services Programs, and clergymen have joined with faculty from several campuses to design this activity. Results are continuing education programs for mental health educators, clergy, activity therapy staffs, and administrators. Instruction deals with the "rights" of the mentally ill, developmentally disabled and acoholic and drug user, and with transitional housing, group homes and sheltered living arrangements for the mentally handicapped.

--"Consumer-oriented" programs both take personal health information to the public and encourage sound community decisions about the nature and the costs of health care facilities and services. Last year 157,200 telephone calls to a dial access tape library were logged from citizens who were seeking health information.

Human Development

--This program area is leading a revival of the arts in Wisconsin. More than 113,600 persons came in contact with some Extension activity in the arts last year. The Rhinelander School of the Arts, the Indianhead Arts Center, the National String Workshop and the Extension study tours are a few of the better known programs. Faculty in the arts program in conjunction with music educators, leaders in urban and rural art centers, drama coaches, art instructors, and citizen groups interested in the arts.

--During the International Women's Year, faculty in this program area and interested campus colleagues organized programs on role stereotyping of women, assertiveness training, career guidance and legislative actions of concern to women. Wisconsin Women and the Law, a handbook for civil service clerical workers who wish to move up, was prepared and distributed last year. A new booklet on the legal status of homemakers is in preparation now.

--In tandem with the increasing proportion of our population moving into the "senior citizen" years has been an expansion of Extension programs about aging. Programs based upon the concept of "Education for Competency" range from preparation for retirement to recreation and community service to housing and health care for the elderly to advocacy and self-sufficiency. Diverse agencies such as the State Division on Aging, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, the Wisconsin Arts Board, and the Wisconsin Humanities Committee have contributed financial support for programs on aging. More than 200 groups and organizations are consulted in program development.

--"College days" and "college weeks" on several campuses and in various other locations present a concentration of classes in the liberal studies area and show a great hunger for learning on the part of many Wisconsin citizens. Faculty associated with the human development program area attempt to relate the arts, the law, the teachings of the great philosophers and other social scientists to the policy issues which governmental units must address when values are in conflict.

Labor Education

--Principal objective of this program area is the improvement of the operation and administration of trade unions through educational programs conducted by the School for Workers. A core staff of nine full-time faculty provide instruction for some 4,000 union members and officers in such subjects as collective bargaining, work measurement, job evaluation, pensions, health insurance, workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation and state and national labor laws.

--A special relationship exists between the School for Workers and the districts of the State vocational-technical system. Wisconsin workers enroll in VTAE-sponsored School for Workers classes conducted in local facilities in some 35 industrial communities throughout the entire State. The sponsoring arrangement permits the worker to pay the much smaller VTAE non-credit fee and the district contracts with UWEX to pay the required University fee.

--Faculty in this program area monitor State and federal legislation, such as the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act, and provide counsel on implementation of such legislation. Industrial accident statistics are examined with a view toward educational programs on accident avoidance.

Natural and Environmental Resources

--Fifty-one full and part-time faculty based on nine campuses of the System now regularly participate in programmatic decisions in this area. Problem topics include pollution control, waste management, energy conservation, wildlife habitat, management of lake, stream, mineral, and forest resources, and land use decisions.

--Beneficiaries of Extension programs in this program area include professional resource managers, local and State government officials, voters, large and small industries, resident landowners, lakeshore property owners and other absentee owners, teachers, concerned adults.

--In 1975, Wisconsin residents made over 17,000 contacts with faculty in this program area through telephone, mail, office visits, and field trips. They enrolled in 150 seminars, workshops and conferences, made extensive use of the educational telephone network, bought 30,000 topographic maps, read 2,500 newspaper articles, 135 publications and 695 different news letters, heard 2,000 radio programs and viewed 110 television programs and 160 exhibits.

--Natural and Environmental Resource programs deal with issues that affect virtually every aspect of our lives. They are concerned not just with studying eco-systems, forests, minerals, land and water, but also consider human values and they help people weigh the trade-offs needed to fashion a high-quality future.

Social Service

--Operating through the Center for Social Service, the thrusts of this program area are twofold: education for improving the quality of social service in rural, non-metropolitan areas of the state; and education for amelioration of human and social ills associated with changing life in urban and suburban areas. The Center, a unit of the UWM-based Division of Urban Outreach, has jointly-appointed faculty with Eau Claire, La Crosse, Madison, and Milwaukee and has cooperative working relationships with Oshkosh, Superior, and Whitewater.

--A major clientele group for this program area is the professional social worker, employed by the State Department of Health and Social Services and the related county social service departments. Over the years this University program has provided most of the education and training required for staff development and advancement in rank. Close relationships with the State Division of Family Service, Mental Hygiene, and Corrections are maintained.

--In addition to the ties between county Extension offices and county social service departments, which help to assure prompt responses to local problems, the work of this program area is enhanced through a new kind of community-based Extension agent. Initial appointments of Health and Social Services agents in Rhinelander, for a large northern rural region, and in Milwaukee, for a four-county, heavily-populated metropolitan area, are producing excellent results.

--Public non-credit instruction is provided in a wide range of subjects relating to the problems and ills of citizens who may be alcoholic, aging, children in need, members of families in difficulty, dependent economically, developmentally disabled, mentally ill, members of discriminated minorities, youth with problems, etc.

Youth Development

--82,000 youth were members of 4-H clubs and special interest groups in 1975-76. They were led by more than 30,000 adult, junior and teen volunteers, who in turn got information and organizational guidance from faculty in the youth development program area. Experience as a club officer helps young people to accept and carry out responsibility successfully. Clubs engage in substantial community service activities, such as newsprint recycling, historical site preservation, environmental improvement, being "grand-kids" to lonely senior citizens.

--Once primarily a recreational and personal growth opportunity for rural youngsters and their families, the 4-H program has changed with the rest of society. Clubs are active in the Milwaukee central city and in cities and villages of all sizes in every county of the State. Young people gain experience through projects which now include the cultural arts, meteorology and weather, history and heritage activities, aerospace, snowmobiles, marine science, house repair, public speaking, photography, physical fitness, child care, etc.

--Extension agents, working with local school systems, have coordinated in-school and home viewing of nationally-produced instructional television programs. With supervision from teachers and discussion in the classroom, some 6,000 youth participated last year.

--The 4-H camping program provides outdoor learning opportunities for young people at Camp Upham Woods near Wisconsin Dells and at 4-H camps scattered all over the State. For many urban youngsters, this is a wholly new experience.

Division of Urban Outreach

--This division was only in its first year of existence during the 1976-77 year. Because of its newness, the programming relationships and staffing arrangements were in their infancy. Several unit transfers have been made and some others are being contemplated. In addition to this a substantial amount of program activity of many other program areas are directed toward urban audiences, so one needs to be very careful in drawing conclusions about how much effort is being directed toward other urban or rural audiences or any other unusual classification of students.

Financing Extension

A budget of just in excess of $42-million supports programs administered by University of Wisconsin-Extension. About $4.4-million of that is in direct county appropriations which are outside of University control.

State general purpose revenue accounts for 45.1 percent of the total. Program revenue received from fees charged participants makes up 19.6 per cent. The U. S. Department of Agriculture provides 15.5 percent for programs which meet its criteria. Other federal funds produce 6.1 per cent, most of which are related to short term projects. Gifts, trusts, and auxiliary services account for the remainder.

Only 5.5 percent of the UWEX budget now goes for degree credit programs. These are principally correspondence and mediated courses, plus those credit classes administered as a convenience to the campuses.

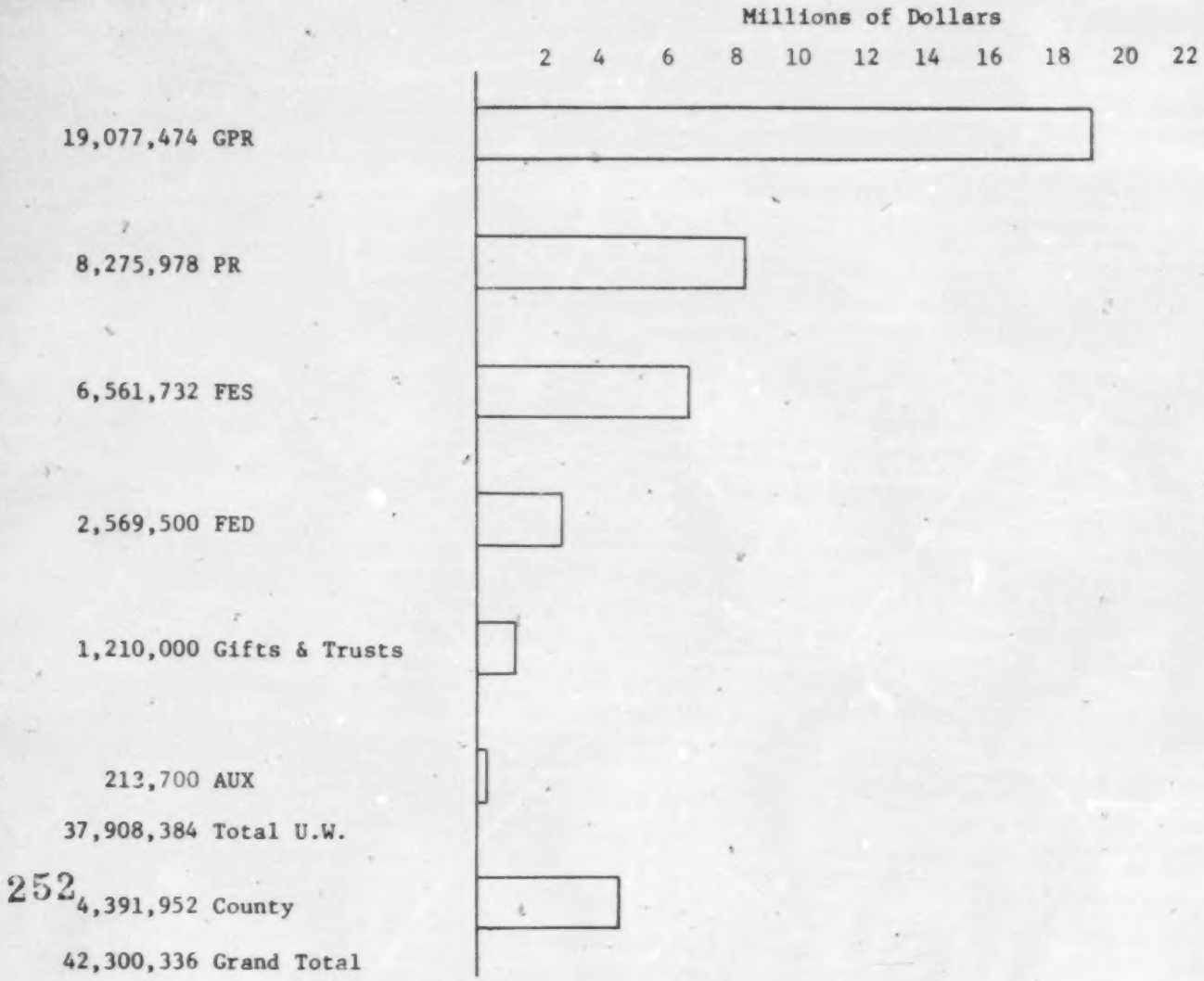
Continuing education classes, institutes and conferences require 31.9 percent of the total budget. These are the programs for which student fees are normally charged.

The remainder, 62.6 percent, is devoted to public service programs.

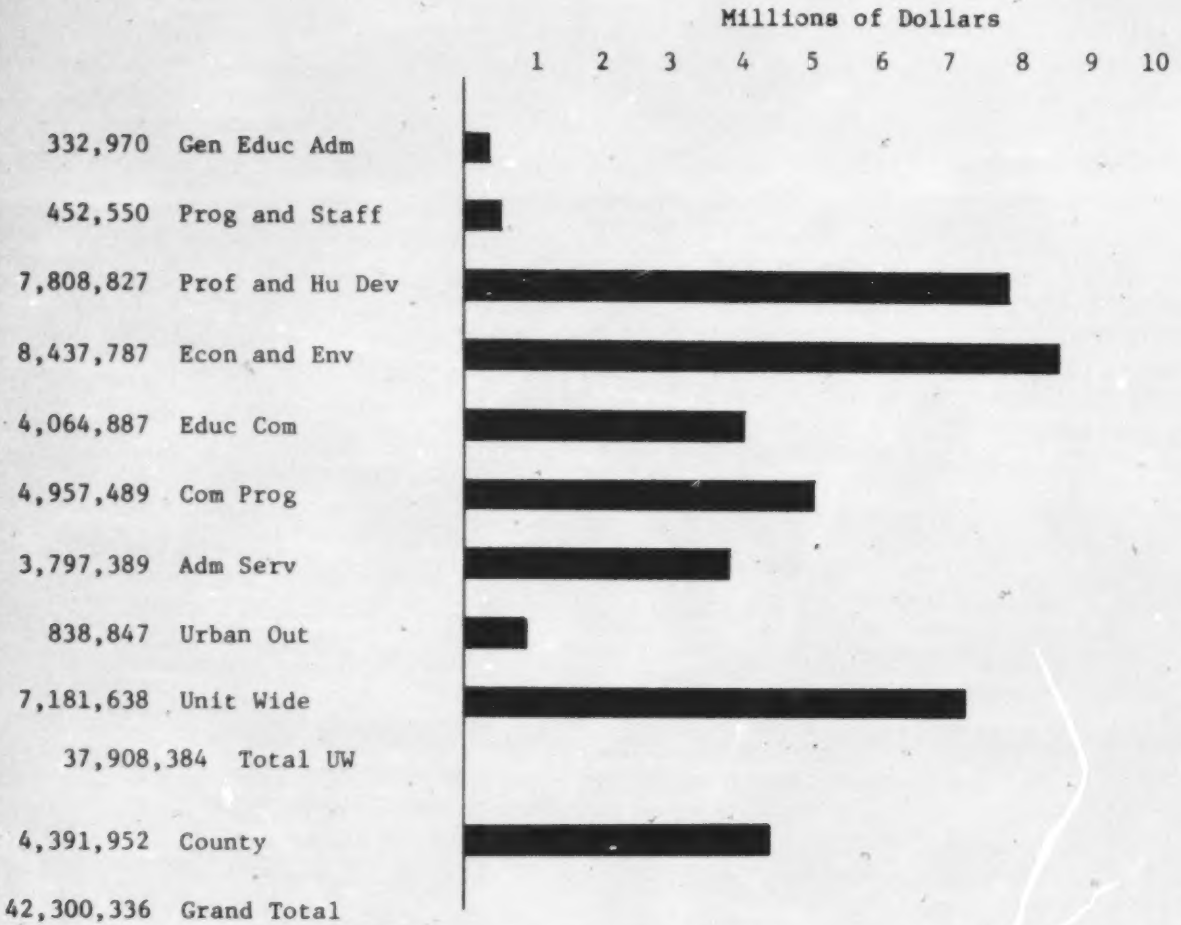
The appendix shows spending related to program area. What it fails to show is the income requirement; engineering and business programs must recover a very high percentage of their budgets while agricultural programs, having USDA support, have a far lower fee income ratio.

The administrative, professional, personal, and budgetary relationships described here are complex. But so is the University of Wisconsin System. It would be simple to have each campus handle all its own outreach, but that would ignore the need for efficiency, quick responsiveness, and coordination of resources for statewide needs. It would be simple to have a monolithic statewide Extension unit, but that would fail to capitalize on campus faculty talent. Given the diversity of the System, the tremendous spectrum of educational need in the State, and the variety of constituent groups to be served, a complex outreach mechanism is inevitable. Vigorous efforts will, however, be maintained to keep the system as simple as is consistent with maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

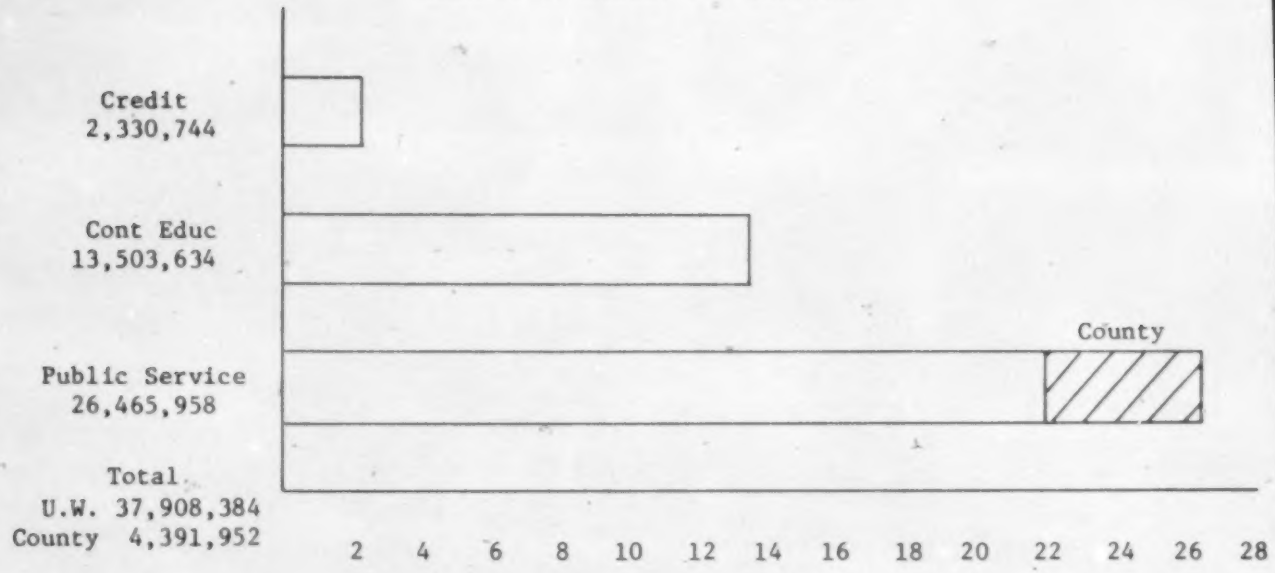
SOURCE OF FUNDS IN UWEX 1976-77 BUDGET



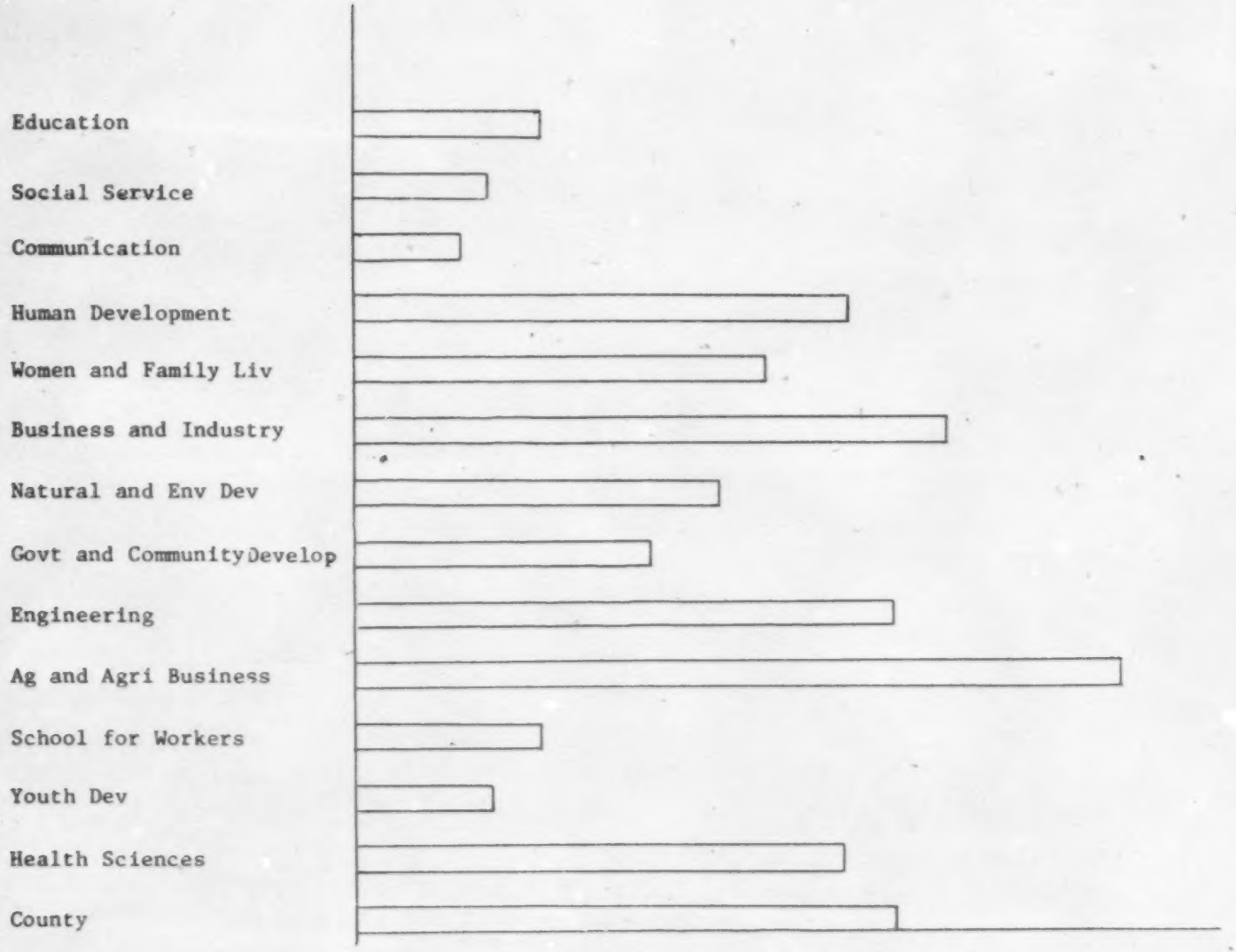
UWEX DIVISION'S 1976-77 BUDGETS



UWEX 76-77 BUDGET BY FUNCTIONS

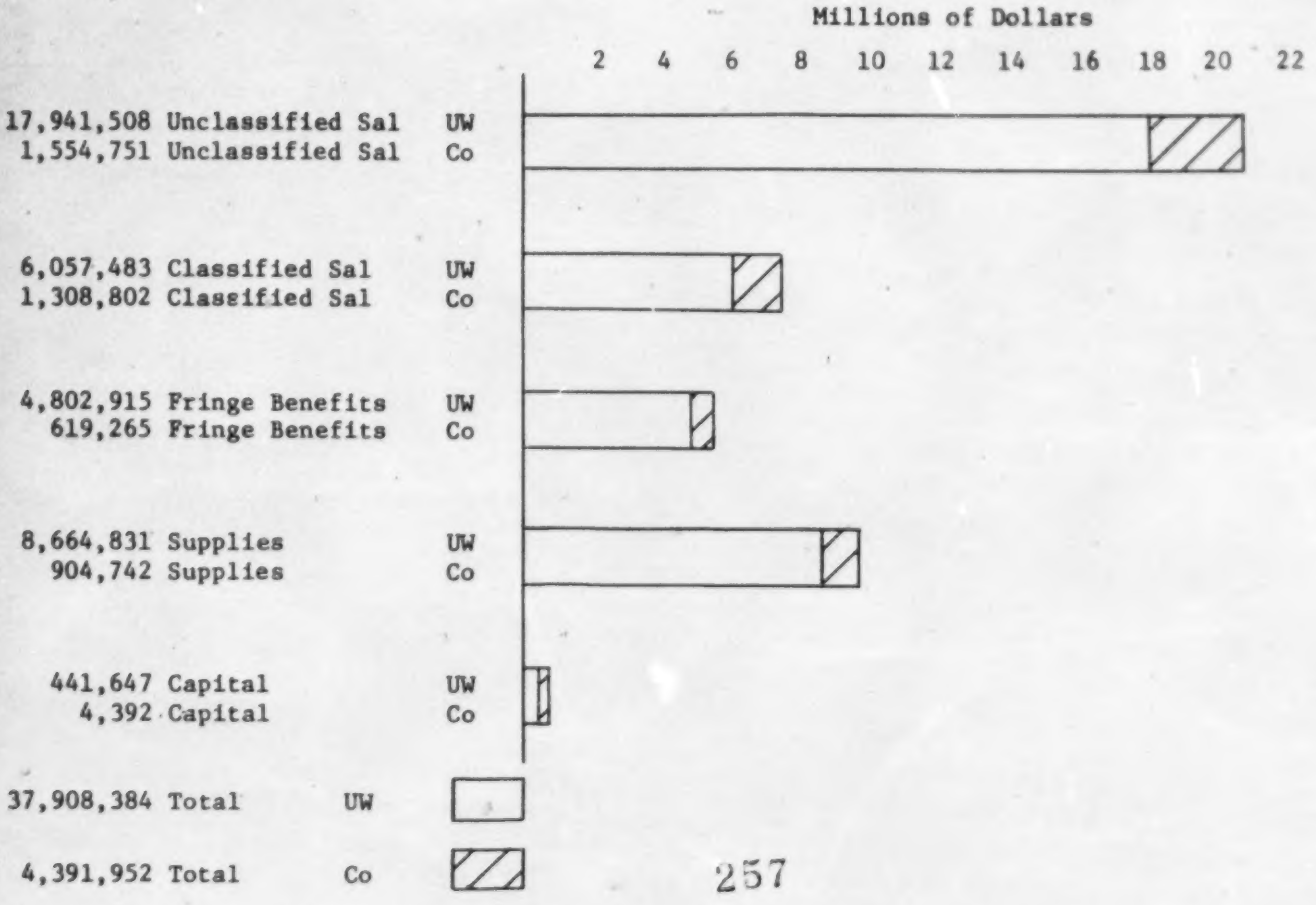


UWEX 1976-77 BUDGET BY PROGRAM AREAS



Education	1,514,085	3.6%
Social Service	1,054,391	2.5%
Communication	822,900	1.9%
Human Development	3,974,575	9.4%
Women and Family Liv	3,323,680	7.9%
Business and Industry	4,777,951	11.3%
Natural and Env Dev	2,956,989	7.0%
Govt and Community Develop	2,432,523	5.8%
Engineering	4,360,254	10.3%
Ag and Agri Business	6,190,447	14.6%
School for Workers	1,489,625	3.5%
Youth Dev	1,089,077	2.6%
Health Sciences	3,923,887	9.3%
County	4,391,952	10.3%
	42,300,336	100.0%

CLASSIFICATION OF FUND IN UWEX 1976-77 BUDGET (INC COUNTY)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1,554,751 Unclassified Sal Co
6,057,483 Classified Sal UW
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4,802,915 Fringe Benefits UW
619,265 Fringe Benefits Co
8,664,831 Supplies UW
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4,392 Capital Co
37,908,384 Total UW
4,391,952 Total Co